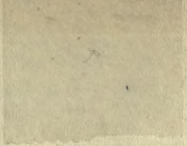




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# AESCHYLUS

## SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS #

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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## PREFACE

THE text used in this edition of the *Septem contra Thebas* is taken, with further careful revision, from the Aeschylus published by the Oxford University Press as one of the new series of Classical Texts.

The Introduction contains a review of the history of the Theban myth from Homer to the Attic drama; a brief *résumé* of the plot; a few remarks on the aim and character of the play; and such information about the Manuscripts, the Scholia, the Editions, and the notation adopted in the critical notes, as seemed necessary or advisable.

It is impossible to enumerate here the editors, scholars, commentators, and other authorities, from whose work I have received assistance. On page xxvi of the Introduction will be found a list of the chief editions of Aeschylus' extant plays as a whole, and of this drama in particular. Besides these, I have also given the names of some forty scholars who have contributed by their suggestions towards the restoration of the text in this play, and in many cases also to its interpretation.

If one name in particular were to be mentioned whose work has been helpful to all students of Aeschylus, it would be that of N. Wecklein, who for over thirty years has devoted himself mainly to Aeschylus, and whose latest elaborate edition



## PREFACE

(1891-7), with prefaces and commentary in modern Greek, is full of helpful suggestion and instruction. No less indispensable to students is the facsimile of the Medicean MS., published in 1896 by the authorities of the Laurentian Library under the auspices of the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction. To this Professor Rostagno has contributed a preface, containing a full historical and critical account of the MS. Further details will be found below, on pages xxii and xxiii of the Introduction. I should add, that in dealing with the History of the Myth, I have derived much advantage from Professor Jebb's Introductions to the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and the two other Theban plays of Sophokles, where parts of the same story are dramatized by Aeschylus' younger contemporary.

A. S.

# INTRODUCTION

## § 1. DATE AND CONTENTS.

THE 'Επτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας was exhibited at Athens in 467 B.C.: the date is fixed by the archon's name, which is given in the Argument. It was the third play in the tetralogy (acted in that year), which was appropriately called the *Οἰδιποδεία*. The plays were *Λαῖος*, *Οἰδίπους*, 'Επτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, and a Satyric play called *Σφίγξ*. It is clear from these names that the plays were all connected—which was not always the case—the plot of the lighter Satyric after-piece being taken from the same legend. Of the three lost plays the fragments are unfortunately insignificant: only two words are preserved of *Laïos*; of *Oidipous* only one extract of three lines, which however suffices to show that Aeschylus followed the same tradition about the murder of *Laïos* at the 'meeting of three roads' as Sophokles afterwards used in *Oidipous Tyrannos*<sup>1</sup>. Of the *Sphinx*, too, only three lines remain, one ridiculed in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, while the other passage, suggesting that a certain stranger was to be bound with 'the best fetter out of the Prometheus story,' is interesting as bearing on the chronology of the poet's work. The date of the Prometheus is uncertain, but the style, and the smaller proportion of chorus to dialogue, strongly suggest that it was later than the Septem. A burlesque reference to the Prometheus-tale in the year 467 is highly improbable, if Aeschylus' great trilogy on that subject had been already written and acted: while the allusion may point to the fact that he was already in 467 contemplating a trilogy on the subject. And this would suit the date 460-5, on other grounds most probable for the Prometheus trilogy.

The further evidence (derived from the Septem itself) as to the contents of the lost tragedies is best deferred to its proper place below, in the History of the Myth.

<sup>1</sup> Aeschylus places the 'three roads' in Boiotia, Sophokles in Phokis.

# SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS

## § 2. HISTORY OF THE MYTH.

### A. *Homer.*

There are three passages which contain references to the Theban story.

#### (1) *The sin of Oidipous.*

Od. II. 271 [Odysseus relates his visit to the abode of the dead, and the shades with whom he held converse]:

‘And I saw the mother of Oidipodas, Fair Epikaste, who wrought a great deed [crime] unwitting in her mind, wedding her son: and he slaying his father wedded her: and *forthwith the gods made it known to men*. But he ruled over Kadmeians in fair Thebes, suffering woes by deadly counsels of the gods: but she went to the house of Hades the strong warder, having tied a noose on high to the roof-beam, mastered by her grief; and to him she left many woes afterward, all that the Erinyes of a mother accomplish.’

#### (2) *The war against Thèbes.*

Iliad 4. 376 [Agamemnon, praising Tydeus the father of Diomedes, speaks]:

‘He came to Mykenai, not as a foe, but a guest with godlike Polyneikes, gathering an army: they were raising war against the sacred fortress of Thebes, and besought them to give goodly helpers. And they [the men of Mykenai] were willing, and hearkened to their prayers; but Zeus turned them, giving evil omens. And when they were gone far on their way, and had reached rushy Asopos in his grassy bed, there did the Achæoi send Tydeus to be their messenger. And he went and found many Kadmeians feasting in the house of the mighty Eteokles. And Tydeus though a stranger feared not, alone among many Kadmeians, but challenged them to feats of strength, and conquered all easily: such a helper was Athene. And the Kadmeian knights were wroth, and as he returned, set a strong ambush, bringing fifty youths and two leaders . . . And even on them Tydeus brought cruel fate: he slew all, save one he sent home alone . . . obeying the signs of the gods.’

This is a very strange story, and quite unlike the tradition known from the Tragedians. Tydeus is the protagonist here; he joins the expelled Polyneikes, and gathers an army for a raid on Thebes.



## HISTORY OF THE MYTH

He is sent on 'a message,' i.e. apparently as a spy, to Thebes: graciously received with feast and games: defeats the Thebans, is treacherously attacked, and kills all the assailants but one. It is a primitive savage tale of guile and daring; but tells nothing of the war.

### (3) *The death of Oidipous.*

Il. 23. 679: Mekisteus 'came to Thebes of old, when Oidipous had fallen [*δεδονότος* implies violence], to his funeral feast.'

We see that the Homeric Oidipous (called Oidipodas) marries his mother unwittingly [at least on her part]: the sin is discovered *at once*: he remains in Thebes (as king apparently) and dies by violence. He suffers woes, whether these or others, caused by the Erinyes of his mother; and he is duly buried at *Thebes*.

As in (2), so in (1) and (3) we have a fundamentally different tale from that of the Tragedians. There is no mention in Homer of the self-inflicted blindness, of the Sphinx, of the curse upon his sons, of the mutual slaughter, of Antigone and Ismene, of the expulsion and wanderings of Oidipous; while nothing can be less like the Homeric version of his death and burial than the great Sophoklean scene, where he passes out of sight under divine guidance—purified of guilt and accepted by the gods, and his tomb no man knows (Soph. *Oid. Kol.* 1586-1666).

### B. *Hesiod.*

(1) A brief reference to the myth is found in the 'Works and Days' (162) as follows:—

'And them baneful War and dread Battle slew, some before seven-gated Thebes, the land of Kadmos, fighting for the flocks of Oidipodas, (and others after taking them to Troy in ships over the great sea-gulf, for the sake of Helene of beauteous hair).'

This looks like a primitive tale of a raid of Achaioi on Thebes, under the leadership of Polyneikes, as in the Homeric story. The only thing it adds is the explicit statement that the object of the raid was spoil (*μήλων ἔνεκ' Οἰδιπόδαο*).

(2) The earliest mention of the *Sphinx* appears (in the form 'Phix') in the Hesiodic Theogony (line 326).

'She (Echidna) bare the deadly Phix, destruction to the Kadmeioi.'

## SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS

Echidna, it may be remarked, was the mother of a fine family of monsters: the dog Orthos, and Kerberos, and the Lernaean Hydra, and the Chimaira, and Phix.

### C. *Later Epics.*

(1) *Oidipodia*. There is only one fragment of this epic extant: but Pausanias, who tells at some length (9. 5. 10) the Theban story, quotes the passage from Od. 11 [see A (1) above] with the following comment on the line 'and *forthwith* the gods made it known to men':—

'How then did the gods make it known *forthwith*, if Iokaste bare four children to Oidipous? They were really the children [not of Iokaste but] of Euryganeia. And this is confirmed *by the author of the poem which they call the "Oidipodia."*'

Jepp points out (Soph. O. T. p. xiii) that, as far as appears, it was the Attic poets who made Iokaste the mother of Eteokles, Polyneikes, Antigone, and Ismene: there were Dorian princely houses (as Theron, tyrant of Akragas, descended according to Pindar, Ol. 2. 35, from Polyneikes [see below D]) who traced their descent to the children of Oidipous, and therefore were naturally interested in having a different version of the birth of these children.

(2) *Kypria*. This poem, as we know from the fragments of Proklos (Chrestomathia, book i), gives an account of a meeting between Menelaos and Nestor, where the latter in the course of a digression (Nestor was fond of digressions) relates the story of Oidipous. There is, however, no hint of what the story he told was. But it shows the wide diffusion and vogue of the myth that it should occur in the middle of an epic on the causes of the Trojan war.

#### (3) *Thebaid*.

a. Less than twenty lines of this poem survive: but the longest fragment happens to give us the earliest account of the curse of Oidipous, as follows:—

'But the heaven-born yellow-haired Polyneikes first set before Oidipodas the fair silver table of wise Kadmos and afterward filled the fair golden cup with sweet wine. But he [Oidip.], when he knew that the precious treasures of his father [Laios] were set before him, forthwith in the presence of both sons uttered dire curses—and the divine Erinyes marked him—that they should not

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divide their heritage in friendly wise, but that wars and battles should be between them' (Athen. II. 465 E).

*b.* Another fragment is quoted by the scholiast on Soph. Oid. Kol. 1375, who comments on the curse of Oidipous as follows:—

'The story is this. Eteokles and Polyneikes, being accustomed to send their father the shoulder from the sacrifice, once from forgetfulness or carelessness or whatever cause sent him the thigh. And he thinking he was slighted, in a petty and ignoble spirit cursed them. The author of the Little Thebais relates it as follows:

"When he marked the thigh piece, he cast it down, and spake Alas! my sons have sent it in despite! and prayed to King Zeus and the other gods that they might go down to Hades slain by each other."

Putting together these scattered hints in the Epic and Hesiodic ages, we see:

(*a*) that the war on Thebes is in the early story an ordinary savage raid designed by the exiled prince Polyneikes, clearly in a spirit of revenge against his successful and reigning brother Eteokles.

(*b*) that Hesiod has the first mention of the Sphinx, and that she is already connected with Thebes, as a pest devouring the citizens.

(*c*) that the Homeric tradition is still current in the later Epic age (Oidipodia C (1)), viz. that 'Epikaste' (later 'Iokaste') discovers the nature of her marriage *at once*, and kills herself by hanging.

(*d*) that the later Epics assign, as the ground for the curses which Oidipous invoked upon his sons, comparatively trivial acts of disrespect or disobedience: and that the curse itself is a prayer for their mutual strife, or mutual slaughter; the latter being first clearly stated in the Thebaid.

### D. *Pindar.*

(1) Ol. 2. 65 (date 472 B. C.):—

'Thus Destiny . . . along with god-sent prosperity, brings alway bitter reverse of fortune at another time; ever since the son of Laios, in the hands of fate, met his father and slew him, and accomplished the word spoken of old at Delphi: and the swift



Erinyes beheld it, and slew his warlike sons by each other's swords.'

(2) Nem. 9. 40 (date c. 472 B.C.). [Speaking of Adrastos and his brothers, and Amphiaraos the seer, he says]:

'They were mightiest among the fair-haired Danaoi. Therefore on a time they led a host to seven-gated Thebes on an ill-omened way; and the son of Kronos whirling his lightning urged them not to go forth from their homes, albeit they were fain, but to desist from the journey. So to foreseen destruction sped forth the best with armour of bronze and horse-trappings: but on Ismenos' banks they checked their return—their gleaming carcasses fed the smoke: for seven funeral-fires shared the youthful warriors among them: but for Amphiaraos Zeus cleft the deep-bosomed earth with resistless thunderbolt, and buried him and his horses, ere his warrior spirit was shamed, pierced in the back by Periklymenos' spear.'

(3) Ol. 6. 19 (date 468 B.C.).

'... the praise, which once Adrastos rightly spake aloud of Amphiaraos the seer, son of Oikles, when the earth had swallowed himself and his bright steeds. Then when the corpses of the seven pyres were consumed the son of Talaos spake in Thebes this word: "I mourn for the flower of my host, both wise in prophecy and brave in war."'

Pindar's evidence has interest, as giving the Theban tradition at a time almost exactly contemporary with Aeschylus. In this version of the story the most important points are the following, taking the three extracts in order:—

(1) The doctrine of the 'Family Fate': the first explicit mention of Laios, and of the oracle of Delphi foretelling that Oidipous should kill his father. A wholly different colour is also given to the mutual slaughter of Eteokles and Polyneikes: here it is the punishment brought on Oidipous for the murder of Laios, not the penalty paid by the sons for their disobedience.

Whether Oidipous in this version was an *unwitting* murderer, we cannot tell: nor whether Laios *invoked* the Erinyes, or she acted of her own motion as she often does in Homer (Il. 19. 87, 259, 418; Od. 15. 234, &c.). The words in (1) ἰδοῖσα δ' ὄξεϊ 'Ερινύς suggest the latter.

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Lastly, in Pindar's story there is no mention of Iokaste; and this omission is natural, seeing that the Ode is in praise of Theron, tyrant of Akragas (Agrigentum), who, as we saw above, C (1), traced his descent to Thersandros son of Polyneikes. Even if Pindar adopted the Oidipodia version that Polyneikes was son not of Iokaste but of Euryganeaia, he would avoid dwelling on the incestuous marriage of Theron's ancestor Oidipous.

(2) The expedition was fated to fail from the first, and was carried out in defiance (not only of the seer's warnings but) of unmistakable bad omens sent by Zeus.

Again, Amphiaraios was (in this tale) saved from being slain in the fight, the earth opening to receive him when the pursuer Periklymenos was about to kill him. On this point Aeschylus is silent: the Theban who fights Amphiaraios is Lasthenes (Sept. 620).

(2) and (3) The bodies of the slain Argives were burnt on Theban soil, Polyneikes included: for Amphiaraios alone is missing. The poet probably means, moreover, that *all the slain*, not the *seven only*, were burnt. The phrase in (3) ἑπτὰ πυρᾶν νεκρῶν τελεσθέντων is hardly otherwise intelligible. The refusal of burial to Polyneikes seems to be an Attic myth.

### E. Aeschylus' version.

The fragments of the two first plays (see § 1, supra) are meagre and inconclusive: Of 'Laios,' the first play, all we can tell is what Aeschylus himself says (Theb. 745-55), that 'Apollo at Delphi *thrice* prophesied to Laios that if he had no son, he should keep safe his city; but from folly he disobeyed and begat *death to himself*, Oidipodas who slew his father and wedded his mother.' But valuable light is thrown on the scheme of the second play (Oidipous) by a passage in Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας (766-791), which runs as follows:—

'Ancient curses are hard to reconcile: deadly fate does not pass away: the Prosperity overgrown of grasping men suffers loss, and is cast overboard. For what man did the gods and men so marvel at as I honoured Oidipous, who delivered Thebes from the man-devouring pest? But when the ill-starred man came to know of his fatal marriage, impatient of his sorrow with maddened heart he wrought a twofold ill: his hand, that slew his father, bereft him of

eyes dearer than children, and bitter curses he called down on his sons, that one day they should divide the heritage with the sword.'

This was written 467 B.C., five years after Pindar's Olympian Ode quoted above; and there is nothing that points to any material difference between the two versions, in regard to the incidents related. Slight differences there are in the spirit, as is natural: Pindar speaks as though Destiny was fickle and arbitrary, with alternations of good and ill: Aeschylus dwells more on the actual *danger* of excessive prosperity—the deep-seated Greek fear of the Envy (*φθόνος*) of the gods. So he says (Ag. 1000 sqq.) 'disease lies behind the party wall': 'a wise fear throws overboard part of the treasure, and saves the ship from foundering,' where the same metaphor will be noticed as in Sept. 770, though differently used.

In the above Chorus we have a brief summary of the lost Oidipous of Aeschylus, exactly as Prometheus (P. V. 201-40) gives a summary of the preceding play Prometheus *πυρφόρος*, or as the murder of Agamemnon is dramatically summarized in Choephoroi (978-1006) and again briefly in Eumenides (625-35). The Oidipous clearly showed the king as the victim of fate, suffering a striking reverse. He is first seen as the slayer of the Sphinx, the honoured of all, saviour of the state and king: then comes the discovery of the marriage (probably also of the hardly less dreadful pollution of *αὐθέντης φόνος*, that it was he who had killed his father Laios): then follows sudden despair, madness, the self-blinding, and the curse upon his sons. The curses are *ἐπικότους τροφᾶς* (786) 'uttered in wrath at their ill-care of him': words which seem to suggest that Aeschylus followed the myth of the Thebaid (in regard to the *cause* of the curse) though he avoids the crudity of the older epic by the dignified word *τροφᾶς*. In all this there is plenty of material for tragic handling: the dark shadow in the background of the Family Curse, as yet but partly fulfilled: the first blow when it falls giving rise to a second curse, which similarly hangs like a cloud over the opening of the *Ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας*.

The *terms* of the curse in Aeschylus' *Οἰδίπους* are abundantly clear from the *Ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας*, viz. 'that they should divide their heritage by the sword' (788). The phrase is repeated with impressive emphasis and variety. The brothers are 'reconciled with the



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sword' (885), they 'have equal shares' (907), Ares (Strife) is 'a fell divider of goods' (942). So 945 again, &c.

Another hint we get, from two passages in our play, of what may have been the closing scene of the *Oιδίπους*. Before Eteokles goes out to his death, among his last words is the cry (Sept. 710): '*Too true ye were, ye visions of nightly dreams, ye dividers of our father's heritage.*' And later in the *κομμός* the Chorus twice repeat the lines (977-9, 991-3) '*Oh woeful Fate, giver of grievous gifts! oh royal shade of Oidipous! dark Erinys, verily great is thy might!*'

These exclamations would be meaningless, if in the lost plays there had been no previous and explicit mention of the *ἐνύπνια φαντάσματα* and the *σκιά* *Oιδίπου*. The passages suggest that at the close of the preceding play, after the death of *Oιδίπους*, a dream had been related (by a messenger, or the Chorus, or Eteokles himself) probably of the ghost of Oidipous (978) appearing to his son (710), confirming the curse, and showing the terrible meaning of the 'division by the sword' <sup>1</sup>.

Thus there appears a marked difference between the ruder earlier version of the story, in the Epic age, and the 'moralizing of the plot' in Pindar and Aeschylus. The family fate—the visitation of guilt on the successive generations—the abandonment of the cruder and more childish motive for Oidipous' curse, unsuitable to serious tragedy—are, as far as we can see, due to the reflectiveness, and the deeper moral insight of the fifth-century poets.

It should be added, that in the very last scene of our play (1020-84) a new element appears in the story, the prohibition of the burial of Polyneikes, and the resolve of Antigone to bury him, while the weaker Ismene obeys the command. Doubts of the genuineness of this scene have been raised (see Notes): but in any case the sisters appear (862) as mourners, and the burial of *both* brothers is contemplated (1006), in the part which is unquestionably genuine.

<sup>1</sup> The scholiasts here are useless. On 710 Schol. M gives the following: 'he had dreamed the division of the heritage would be by bloodshed,' which is simply a paraphrase of the words of Eteokles: on 978 he explains *Oιδίπου σκιά*: 'the *weak* Oidipous; because he is now of no avail': the real point being the exact opposite, that though he be dead *the curse yet lives*.

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### F. *Later versions.*

It would be beside our purpose to examine the further developments of the Theban story at length, especially as none of the three great Theban plays of Sophokles (Ant., O. Tyr., O. Kol.), written at widely different dates, touches any part of the plot of *Ἐντὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας*, except so far as the question of the burial of Polyneikes, briefly treated in the last eighty lines of our play, forms the theme of the Antigone.

But it may be well to say that in Sophokles the detail of the story is largely varied and developed, the most notable points being that Oidipous curses his sons for heartless ingratitude and neglect (Oid. Kol. 421); that the curse comes long *after their quarrel*, and not (as in Aeschylus) on the discovery of his own sin: that he is purified and accepted by the gods, and passes away alone, in a holy place, under their especial guidance: and that in two of the plays (Ant. and O. Kol.) the daughters play a leading part, Antigone in particular spending her life, and meeting death, in faithfulness to father and brother. Iokaste puts at once an end to herself on the first discovery of the nature of her marriage (Oid. Tyr. 1237).

The theme of Euripides' Phoinissai, on the other hand, covers exactly the ground of *Ἐντὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας*: but the dramatic handling is so profoundly different that here too a detailed comparison would be unprofitable. The plot can be briefly given, as follows. Polyneikes is expelled by his brother, in defiance of a compact for yearly alternate rule, and returns with the six chiefs and an army to secure his rights. Iokaste arranges a conference between the brothers, in a vain attempt to stop the war: the gods demand a victim of the royal house if Thebes is to win, and Menoikeus son of Kreon nobly devotes himself. The brothers' fight is fixed, and Iokaste hearing of it sets out to stop it, but arrives too late, and kills herself. The three bodies are brought in: Antigone leads the lamentation: Kreon the new king banishes Oidipous, orders the body of Eteokles to be buried, that of Polyneikes to be cast out. Antigone defies him, and vows to bury her brother: she is then also sentenced to banishment: the play ends with her resolve to accompany her father into exile.

There is considerable scope in this sketch for touching and

## THE PLOT

striking situations, and for variety of scene and effect: there is even some satire on the Aeschylean play: but there is too little coherence of motive, or clear significance in the structure of the plot, to make it worthy of comparison with the *Ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας*, far less with the Sophoklean plays.

As regards the details of the myth, the only essential variations or innovations are that Oidipous and Iokaste are both living when the two sons fall: that Polyneikes is really wronged, and not a bandit or a treasonable rebel: that the exile of Oidipous (and Antigone) begins after the death of her brothers, and is not due to them: and that the prophecy of the wanderer finding rest at Kolonos near Athens appears first in Euripides' play, which was a few years anterior to the Oidipous Koloneios.

It should be added that the Argument to the Phoinissai records the sin of Laios which called down the curse. He had carried off Chrysippos son of Pelops from Elis to Thebes, unknown to the father. Pelops long lamented the loss of his son: but when he found out the culprit, he invoked on Pelops this curse:—that he might never beget a son; but if he did, that he might one day meet his death at his son's hands.

*on Laios*

### § 3. THE PLOT OF THE *Ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας*.

The preceding plays were briefly as follows:—

*Laios*. Laios king of Thebes having wronged Pelops was cursed by him, with the curse that he might never beget a son, or if he did, that this son should cause his death.

The gods heard this just prayer: Apollo thrice prophesied to Laios that if he had no son, he should keep safe his city: but Laios begat Oidipous nevertheless <sup>1</sup> [hoping to escape fate by exposing him as a babe on the mountains. A shepherd took him to Corinth: he was reared there as a prince, discovered his destined fate, left his home, and near Thebes met a stranger who attacked him in the road]. Oidipous killed him, not knowing it was his father.

*Oidipous*. Oidipous went on to Thebes, found it ravaged by the Sphinx, who slew and devoured those that could not answer her riddle. Oidipous answered it; the Sphinx defeated killed herself;

<sup>1</sup> The passages in brackets are conjectural.

## SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS

the saviour of the city was made king, and wedded the queen Iokaste. At last [we know not how] the whole horror of his position as husband of his mother [probably also as slayer of his father] is revealed: he blinds himself at once; and later he curses his sons 'for their ill-care of him' with the prayer 'that they should divide their heritage with the sword.' [The quarrel of the sons, and the death of Oidipous and Iokaste, must have been told in the play, which ended with the shadow of the impending mutual slaughter of the brothers, and the fall of the royal house.]

---

At this point our play begins.

The citizens gather in the fortress of Thebes at the summons of the king. Eteokles bids them be vigilant, as danger is at hand. A scout enters, with news: the Argive army is here; the seven captains beset the seven gates. Eteokles utters a prayer to the gods: and all depart. [Prologos, 1-77.]

The Chorus of Theban maidens enter with broken and terror-stricken cries—'Ye gods, save us! the clang of shields and spears; oh Ares, Zeus, Pallas, Poseidon, Kypris, Apollo! help us! the din of chariots, the shower of stones, affright us: gods, remember our offerings, and help!' [Parodos, 78-180.]

Eteokles enters, and roughly chides the women, with threats of punishment. They plead that they are frightened: the king bids them keep silence, and abide in their homes. After a few more startled cries they submit. He bids them pray quietly, and departs to arrange the defence of the seven gates. [Epeisodion I, 181-287.]

The Chorus sing of the horrors of war—the wreck of temples and homes, the fire, the slaughter, the suffering and slavery of the women; the waste and destruction of all things. [Stasimon I, 288-374.]

Eteokles returns, and at the same moment a messenger comes, reporting at length the name and description of the captains attacking each gate: the king tells off a Theban champion to each gate. At the seventh gate he finds his brother Polyneikes is stationed; but announces his resolve to meet him there. [Epeisodion II, part 1, 375-685.]

The Chorus endeavour to dissuade him, dwelling on the horror of such a combat; but the king, though he sees the hand of fate,



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refuses to change, and goes out to meet his doom. [Epeisodion II, part 2, 688-719.]

The Chorus sing a lyric of foreboding: the fatal curse of Oidipous, that the brothers should divide the heritage by the sword—and both be slain! They brood on the family fate, bringing death to the third generation, and repeat the story of Laïos who sinned and suffered: Oidipous who fell from his height of glory, and uttered the curse on his sons—the curse that now shall be fulfilled! [Stasimon II, 720-91.]

The messenger reports victory: all is well at six of the gates; but at the seventh—the Chorus interrupts with questions: the tragic truth comes out: both princes are slain! [Epeisodion III, 792-822.]

The Chorus rejoice over the victory, but are plunged in grief at the extinction of the royal house. They brood on the curse of Oidipous, and its dire fulfilment. As the funeral procession comes near, they burst into lamentation—and pity for the bereaved sisters who follow the train. [Stasimon III, 823-47, followed by lyric lament 848-60, and anapaestic song of pity, 861-74.]

Then follow the alternate laments of the sisters, the Chorus answering each with a lyric stanza: bewailing the fate of the princes, the curse of Oidipous, the grief to the city, the noble warriors dead, the tragic close of the strife, the ruin and fall of the House. [Κομμός, part I, 875-956.]

The two sisters take up the lament in antiphonal lines, Antigone bewailing Polyneikes, Ismene Eteokles. [Κομμός, part 2, 957-1009.]

A herald announces that the city has resolved Eteokles shall be duly buried, Polyneikes (as a traitor and rebel) cast out without funeral rites. Antigone defies the order: and in spite of the herald's remonstrance, remains unshaken. [Epeisodion IV, 1010-1058.]

The Chorus are divided: half, with Ismene, follow the body of Eteokles: half, with Antigone, the bier of Polyneikes. [Exodos, 1059-84.]

### § 4. REMARKS ON THE DRAMA.

*Early date and simplicity of the drama, (a) in general scheme.*

The *Ἐπὶ τῇ Θήβῃ* is an early play, probably the *third* of the thirty-three extant Attic tragedies; and it shows many marks of

## SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS

the earlier stage of the drama, when a play was rather a lyric pageant than a study of human passion and character, and when the theme was rather a single striking incident than a plot of intricate construction. In this play there are nowhere more than two actors required: two scenes consist of dialogue between one actor and the chorus: half the play is taken up by lyric songs from the orchestra; and the whole action, except the funeral procession at the end, is off the stage, and is related in three successive scenes by a spy or messenger, and in the fourth by a herald.

It is obvious, from these considerations, as well as from the sketch of the plot given above, that the scheme of the drama could not be other than severely simple. We know (by the evidence of the lost *Oidipous*) that the two brothers must die by each other's hand: and the 'Septem' tells the story in three simple scenes: (1) the tidings that the foe is come; (2) the names of the seven Argive chiefs, the devices they bear on their shields, and the Theban champions Eteokles appoints to meet them; and (3) the brief announcement of Thebes' victory and the death of the two princes. The family curse is ended—by the extinction of the family: the 'Strife is reconciled by the Sword.' It is all foreseen from the first: there is no uncertainty, no change of purpose, no surprise, no struggle: still less is there any scheming on the part of Eteokles to avoid his fate, or any subsidiary interest or characters to diversify the simple texture of the main story. The myth is simple, and the drama marches straight to its goal.

### (b) *In details.*

The same simplicity also is observable in the means whereby the main incident, the duel of the two brothers, is brought about. For what is the position of Eteokles? He knows his father's curse (655): indeed the maidens who form the Chorus all know it (789): it is familiar to the city. He cannot be unaware that it is his brother who has brought the Argive army, and that he is certain to take a leading part in the attack: he knows that the leaders are *seven* (42), of whom each will assail one gate (56). Yet having announced (283) that he himself will be one of the seven leaders of defence, and having chosen the other six Thebans, he appoints these six one by one to face the six Argive foes whom the messenger first names—though any one of these foes he might himself have chosen

## REMARKS ON THE DRAMA

to encounter and so escaped the fate—and he reserves the seventh gate for his own post when it was obvious that Polyneikes must be his foe. All this naïve arrangement is in harmony with the character of the popular tale and the early drama: it suffices that Polyneikes' name should not have been mentioned till Eteokles—who has declared he will act as one of the seven defenders—has despatched before our eyes the other six to their posts, for us to accept this somewhat frail coincidence as the Hand of Fate, bringing the brothers together, to their mutual destruction.

### (c) *The last scene.*

Perhaps also we may trace similar characteristics in the rather strange scene which closes the play. After the death of the princes, the bodies are brought in, and (in conformity with the universal Greek instinct) are bewailed by the two sisters in a long antiphonal lamentation, the Chorus at stated intervals interposing with sympathetic song. The oracle is fulfilled: the tragedy is over: and we expect the usual close, in some general pathetic maxim or moral: but we have instead an additional short scene of quite exceptional character, where (as fully described above in the account of the plot) the wailing is interrupted by the Herald forbidding the funeral of Polyneikes. Antigone defies the order: and the Chorus part into two, each following one bier, with one sister. The strangeness of the scene consists in this, that it leaves an impression of the whole story being unfinished. The fulfilment of the curse, and the extinction of the royal and guilty race is the natural end: but a new trouble arises, treated in the sketchiest manner, which (we feel) introduces a new struggle, and a new tragedy, whereof the issues are just started by Antigone's defiance, and then left hanging and unsolved. This defect is so strongly felt by many scholars (Schöll, Westphal, Wecklein, Paley, &c.) that they are inclined to think the whole last scene (1010–84) a later addition, perhaps written (in consequence of Sophokles' Antigone twenty-six years later than the Septem) by some reviser of the *Ἑντὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας* after the poet's death. There is certainly something to be said for this view; but if we do not go so far, as I think we need not, at any rate we must find, in this curt and incomplete conclusion to the Septem (and to the trilogy), a certain *naïveté* or crudity of construction, which is perhaps natural in the early days of the drama, and which is com-



bined in this play (as in *Supplices* and *Persae*, though still more markedly here) with a stirring and magnificent poetry, of lyric song and even more of striking dramatic speech, that seem to belong to a higher development.

(d) *The character-drawing.*

Lastly, if the stage reached by the Attic drama in 467 has much to say to the scheme of the play, to its dramatic presentment, to its details, and to certain defects of structure, still more does it bear upon the character-drawing, an element of drama which always requires long time for its development. Not till the third actor was invented by Sophokles (who in 467 had only just risen above the horizon) was the play of contrasted characters, the action of one soul on another, which counts for so much in this regard, brought within reach of the Greek tragic poet. Aeschylus had but two actors at this date: and in the *Septem* he hardly made real use even of two. Until the last scene (which is too short for anything like character-drawing in the sense in which we understand it), the one character is the King Eteokles: for the messenger is a mere mouth-piece, and to find *ἦθος* in his part is to see through a brick wall. The king is a typical portrait of a strong, prompt, decisive, confident soldier: curt and contemptuous with the wailing women, scornful of the finery of Tydeus and the impious boasts of Kapaneus: hating his rebel brother with a whole heart and without misgiving: and when his fate comes—brought on largely by his own blind recklessness (see above, p. xix)—refuses to draw back, though the Chorus sharply remind him (682) of the 'ageless' and inexpiable pollution of the bloodshed he contemplates: will neither save himself nor spare his foe: submits to fate, and boldly faces death. The picture, though it be the only such picture in the play, is powerful and convincing; and if it is drawn only in broad outlines, without subtle shading, the outlines are strong and right, and they suffice for the poet's purpose. Especially one point in the picture is notable, as the first extant specimen on any considerable scale of *διάνοια* (or general reflection on life)—that element of Attic tragedy which afterwards received such large development, particularly from Euripides. The instance occurs at line 597, where the messenger has told how one of the captains of assault is Amphiaraios the seer, who inveighs against Tydeus and Polyneikes for the wickedness of

## REMARKS ON THE DRAMA

the whole expedition, which he has unwillingly joined : and how he is prepared to do his part though he knows it will end in death and failure. Eteokles in pity and admiration breaks out :—

‘Woe! for the fate that draws the righteous man  
to serve, a comrade of the impious !  
Naught is there worse than ill companionship,  
whate’er be toward . . . ’tis fruit that none may gather.  
Fate is the furrow, and the harvest Death !  
The godly man sets foot upon the deck  
with violent shipmates: then from a deed of ill,  
he shares destruction with the accursed crew:  
or dwells, a righteous man with evil fellows,  
men fierce to strangers, recking not of gods;  
till, swept into the snare with impious men,  
gods’ undiscerning scourge brings him to nought.’

The touch of pity in the rude soldier, and of reflection in the prompt man of action, add greatly to the truth and interest of the sketch of character: like the brooding gloomy self-questioning of the blood-stained Macbeth, the yearning tenderness of the strong and resolute Antigone, the momentary shock of a mother’s sorrow in the unlovely Sophoklean Klytaimestra—or any other of those studies of conflicting moods or contrasted qualities whereby the great dramatists of all ages have shown their insight into complex human nature.

It is hardly necessary to add, that whatever signs we may find in this play of the immaturity of the drama, in regard to plot, or handling of detail, or subtlety of character-drawing, there is none in the poet’s ability to produce the effects intended, none in the magnificent wealth and power of his diction, nor in the sustained stateliness and picturesqueness of his descriptive dramatic oratory. It is well known that Euripides, sixty years later, satirized the great scene (Epeisodion II, 375–676) where the seven Theban champions are chosen to meet the seven Argives, by the thoroughly sensible and practical phrase (Phoinissai 751)—

‘Twere long delay to tell the name of each  
when foes are camped beneath the very walls.’

The satire is not formidable, nor is it even technically justified: for,

## SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS

as Dr. Verrall has pointed out, there is a hitch in the Argive proceedings owing to unfavourable omens (379), which allows a respite. But whether justified or not, neither reader nor audience greatly care. *All* drama requires a large licence of assumption and make-believe, which is readily granted; and certainly Euripides is himself not exempt from this necessity. And this superb scene, if assailable, is also defensible on the strictly dramatic side, as we have seen: and, regarded as part of a stately pageant, is incomparably fine. And besides the picturesqueness, and the force and grandeur of the style, there is also most noticeable the high spirit of the play as a whole. It is a δράμα Ἀρεως μεστόν, 'a tragedy filled with the spirit of war' as Aristophanes said before the whole of Athens (Frogs 1021) in the spring of 405, just two years after the production of the Phoinissai. Aristophanes' view was probably accepted at the time; and certainly afterward. No one would place this play on a level with the Prometheus, or the great trilogy; but probably all would agree in ranking it nearer to these than to the two earlier dramas, the Supplices and the Persae.

### THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The following is a brief account of the MSS. which contain the Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, and which naturally fall into two groups:—

#### A. *Medicean Group.*

1. M., far the oldest and most important, the *Medicean*, in the Laurentian library at Florence, written on parchment about the beginning of the eleventh, century<sup>1</sup>. A photographic facsimile of this has been published by the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction.

2. G., *Guelferbytanus*, at Wolfenbüttel, written on paper in the fifteenth century. It is (in this play, as elsewhere) very similar to M, and is badly and ignorantly copied. It contains nearly all the mistakes of M and many more of its own.

<sup>1</sup> The same MS. contains, besides Aeschylus, all the extant tragedies of Sophocles, and the *Argonautica* of Apollonios Rhodios. The Sophocles has been published (by the Hellenic Society, 1885) in photographic facsimile, with a careful palaeographical criticism by Sir E. M. Thompson, Keeper of MSS., and Egerton Librarian in the British Museum. The date given above is assigned by him on grounds of handwriting.



## THE MANUSCRIPTS

3. B., *Marcianus*, sometimes called (from its former possessor) *Bessarionis*, now in the library of S. Mark at Venice, written on paper in the thirteenth century: also very like M, though very inaccurately copied.

4. P., *Parisiensis*, in the library of Paris, on paper, in the fifteenth century. Very like the Medicean, and probably derived from it<sup>1</sup>.

The last three have probably no other authority than what they derive from M, the differences being due to error or conjecture.

### B. *The Venetian Group.*

5. V., *Venetus*, in the library of S. Mark at Venice, on parchment, fifteenth century.

6. Fl., *Florentinus*, in the Laurentian library at Florence, on paper, fourteenth century.

7. Fa., *Farnesianus* (once in the Farnese library), now in the museum at Naples, on paper, fourteenth century. This contains the recension of Demetrius Triclinius, a scholar and grammarian of the fourteenth century, who was unfortunately ignorant of the metres of tragedy, and somewhat rash in conjecture<sup>2</sup>.

These three are obviously from a common origin; moreover the great mass of variations from M are common to the three. The exact relation of this group to the Medicean is not certain, but the authorities tend to agree in believing that they are founded either upon M or upon a not remote ancestor of M.

In the critical notes the text of the Medicean *as originally written* is always quoted as M. But besides the original scribe, other hands appear in the MS. as follows:—

1. A contemporary hand, easily distinguished, which wrote the *scholia* (or Greek notes to the text) and the *glosses* (or explanations of words between the lines), corrected the errors and supplied omissions of the first hand, added the Argument and Dramatis Personae, and occasionally inserted a query or a conjecture at the side. The corrections of this writer are important, as he evidently revised the work of the scribe, comparing it with another MS.: he was more-

<sup>1</sup> Moritz Haupt, in the preface to Hermann's Aeschylus, ed. 1852, thinks a few of its variations from M are due to emendation, the rest to carelessness.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the above, there are many later MSS. (mostly containing Prom. Pers. Theb.) which for critical purposes are of no value.

## SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS

over clearly a more learned and careful person than the scribe. He is quoted always as m.

2. Later correctors (14th or 15th cent.) who are occasionally referred to, and are quoted as m<sub>1</sub>.

As the MSS. are called by different names, and quoted by different letters, it may be useful to give the following table :—

M.	library	Florence,	no.	xxxii. 9	century	X-XI.
G.	"	Wolfenbüttel,	"	88	"	XV.
B.	"	Venice,	"	468 or xci. 4	"	XIII.
P.	"	Paris,	"	2886	"	XV.
Fl.	"	Florence,	"	xxxi. 8	"	XIV.
Fa.	"	Naples,	"	I. E. S.	"	XIV.
V.	"	Venice,	"	616 or xci. 5	"	XV.

We have then the following abbreviations and signs used in the critical notes :—

M. the scribe or first hand of the Medicean.

m. the second hand, who revised the scribe's work.

m<sub>1</sub>. later correctors.

G., B., P., V., Fl., Fa., the later MSS. described above.

rec. one of the later MSS. containing the passage.

recc. all (or most) of the later MSS.

codd. all (or most) of the MSS. including M.

< > conjectural additions to the text.

[ ] words which should be omitted from the text.

† corrupt text not emended.

### THE SCHOLIA.

Reference is made in both critical and explanatory notes to the Scholia, and it will be convenient to explain briefly both what they are and in what way they are valuable.

In the Medicean MS. by the side of the texts are written comments in Greek, called *Scholia*. They are in a small but clear hand, partly in capitals (*half-uncial*), while the text itself is written in *cursive*, that is in a running hand, in small letters, two or more letters being often closely connected and slightly contracted. The Scholia are by a different hand to that which wrote the text, and the authorities are agreed that they are mostly written, at the same time as the text, by the διορθωτής or scholar who corrected the

## THE SCHOLIA

errors made in the text by the professional scribe. Their value consists, both for text and comment, in their *age*. Their explanations are often wrong, but they not unfrequently contain valuable information dating back to many centuries before our earliest MS. For textual criticism they are occasionally a great help, as they sometimes explain a *different* text to that which is by their side in the MS., and so may furnish evidence of an older and truer reading than the MS. itself. In any case they are always worth considering.

In this play there are several excellent examples of Scholia which can be thus made serviceable, and a few specimens may profitably be given.

In 667 the MSS. read Δίκη προσεῖπε καὶ κατηξιώσατο, 'Justice addressed him,' which is nonsense. The Schol. explains the phrase εἶδεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐφίλησεν, really wishing to interpret κατηξιώσατο, but incidentally proving that the writer had προσεῖδε, not προσεῖπε in his text.

In 463 the MSS. read συρίζουσι βάρβαρον τρόπον, 'hiss in strange fashion,' which makes sufficiently good sense. But the Schol. explains it with the words ἀπηνῆ ἦχον, 'a harsh sound': whence Schütz easily inferred that Aesch. wrote βρόμον, not τρόπον, which makes a better sense. Possibly τρόπον has come from 465.

In 774, speaking of all the gods and men in Thebes, the Chorus say (according to the MSS.) θεοὶ καὶ ξυνέστιοι πόλεος ὁ πολύβοτός τ' αἰὼν βροτῶν, i. e. 'gods and dwellers in the city, and the rich-fed life of men,' the last words being very like nonsense. The Schol. explains the italic words as ὁ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐμβατεύμενος ἀνδρῶν, 'trodden by many men'—a very odd metaphor with αἰὼν, but clearly pointing to πολύβατός τ' for πολύβοτός τ', as Blomfield saw. The correction was completed by Weil, who perceived that the word was ἀγών [old Homeric word for 'gathering'], not αἰὼν. The whole phrase 'crowded gathering of men' was thus satisfactorily restored: and it was the scholiast's explanation, carefully copied, though referring to a different Greek text, which made the correction at once possible and certain.

The general opinion is that the best of these Scholia contain, along with other matter, fragments of learning about Aeschylos which can be traced back to the early Alexandrine scholars, and



## SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS

even with some probability to Didymos (called, from his extraordinary capacity for work, by the elegant name of Χαλκέντερος, or 'Copper-guts'), a great Alexandrine scholar of the first century B. C., of the school of Aristarchus.

It is plain, even allowing for the uncertainty of conjectures, that the evidence of readings contained in the Scholia may be centuries older than the MS. itself.

### THE EDITIONS.

The following is a list of the chief editions (*a*) of the whole seven plays, (*b*) of the *Septem contra Thebas*.

#### (*a*) All the plays:—

1518 Aldine.	} These give only the parts of Ag. found in M. In Ald. and Turn. the play is confused with Choe- phoroi. Rob. gives the two plays separate.
1552 Turnebus.	
1552 Robortello.	
1557 Victorius (Vettori).	This is the first that gives Ag. whole.
1580 Canter.	1828 Scholefield.
1663 Stanley.	1831 Bothe.
1745 Pauw.	1842 E. A. I. Ahrens.
1746 Askew.	1847-79 Paley.
1782 Schütz.	1852 G. Hermann.
1794 Porson.	1852 Hartung.
1794 Portus.	1858 H. Weil.
1809 Butler.	1871 R. Merkel.
1823 Wellauer.	1880 Kirchhoff.
1825 Boissonade.	1885 Wecklein.
1827-69 W. Dindorf.	1891-7 (with commentary) Wecklein.

#### (*b*) *Septem contra Thebas* separately:—

1812 Blomfield.	1878 I. Davies.
1818 C. Schwenk.	1887 A. W. Verrall.
1830 C. G. Haupt.	1888 Verrall and Bayfield.
1834 G. C. W. Schneider.	1891 N. Wecklein.
1875 F. Ritschl.	

In addition to the above, readings or corrections are occasionally quoted from Abresch, Bergk, Brunck, Burney, Burton, Conington, L. Dindorf, Elmsley, Enger, Erfurdt, Francken, Geel, Halm, W. Headlam, Heath, Heimsoeth, Kock, Klausen, Lachmann, Lowinski, Martini, Meineke, Nauck, Pierson, Prien, Rothe, Schmidt, Seidler, Stensloff, Stobaeus, Triclinius, Tyrwhitt, Valckenaer, Volckmann, von den Bergh, H. Voss, Wakefield, H. Wolf, and Wunderlich.

## THE TEXT

### THE TEXT.

From the list of MSS. given above it will be seen that the oldest and best by far is the Medicean (M). Wherever the reading of this MS. differs from that adopted in the text, the fact is noted in the critical commentary at the foot of the page. The only exception is in the case of minor errors of accent or spelling; and even these are noted where they seemed at all important.

The later MSS. are occasionally quoted by their distinguishing letters, where one or other of them alone gives the true reading. But in most cases it is pretty clear, when M is wrong and one of the later MSS. right, that the correctness is due not to a better tradition but to emendation. Accordingly when this occurs I have not thought it necessary to specify the correct MS., but have used the term *rec.*, i. e. *recentior* or 'a later MS.' Similarly when M is wrong and several of the later MSS. have a better reading, I use the term *recc.*, i. e. *recentiores*. Where M is right, I have often not thought it necessary to specify the later MSS., whether they agree or differ. When M and the *recentiores* agree in an error I have felt free either to record M only or to use the term *codd.*, i. e. *codices*. Lastly, when M and the *recentiores* are all wrong, but M has one mistake and *recc.* have (all or most of them) another and different mistake, I have sometimes recorded both, if it seems to be of any interest to do so.

The following instances will make quite clear the principles and usage above stated, and also illustrate certain points of interest which a comparison of the MSS. reveals:—

- (1) M wrong, *recc.* right (οὔτε μείον οὐτ' ἴσον λελιμμένοι):

355 λελιμμένοι *recc.*: λελημμένοι M

i. e. the Medicean reads the common word λελημμένοι (which makes no sense here): the later MSS. preserve (or have conjecturally restored) the rare word λελιμμένοι, 'desiring,' which is clearly what Aesch. wrote.

- (2) One *rec.* right, M and others wrong (δουλίαν ψαφαρᾷ σποδῶ):

323 δουλίαν *rec.*: δουλείαν *codd. cett.*

i. e. one later MS. has the adj. δουλίαν (which sense and metre require), while M and the other *recc.* read the erroneous δουλείαν

## SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS

which cannot be translated. This correction may be a mere accident, as *-ι* and *-ει* are habitually confused in our MSS.

(3) M right, recc. all wrong (same error) (Δίκη δ' ὀμαίων):

415 ὀμαίων M: δ supra μ scr. m<sub>1</sub> (i. e. ὁ δαίων) quod habent recc. i. e. M reads the true word ὀμαίων [δικ. ὀμ. 'duty of kinship']: the recc. have ὁ δαίων, neither sense nor grammar: and a *later corrector of M has actually imported this error into that MS.* by writing δ over the first μ of ὀμαίων, i. e. by showing that he thought ὀμαίων ought to be ὁ δαίων.

(4) All wrong, different errors (πατρὸς μέλαιν' ἀρὰ 695):

μέλαιν' Weil: τελεί M, τελεία suprascr. m<sub>1</sub>: τελεί' recc.

i. e. recc. have τελεί' ἀρὰ, 'fulfilled curse' (the sense might do, but to elide long *ā* is impossible): M had τελεί ἀρὰ (where verb not wanted, and open vowels impossible), and later corrector had written the common error τελεία over the top. Weil suggested the most likely correction.

(5) All wrong, same error (1002-3). All copies read

Αντ. δώμασι καὶ χθονί' πρὸ πάντων δ' ἐμοί.

Ισμ. καὶ τὸ πρόσω γ' ἐμοί.

This comes in the sisters' lament, which all through is *antiphonal*, in lines of identical metre. πρὸ πάντων δ' ἐμοί is a *gloss or explanation of Ismene's answer*, which has wrongly got into the text as *part of Antigone's words*, as C. G. Haupt was the first to point out.

This is one of the cases where a reading is common to all existing MSS, which both on literary and metrical grounds is to the last degree unlikely, if not impossible. If such cases are numerous, as in fact they are, common sense enables us to infer that all our MSS. are derived, either from the oldest of them (the Medicean), or from a not remote ancestor of the Medicean: and so, though they may be divisible into groups, are in a very real sense all of one family.

# ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ



## ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ

### ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

Ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ἐν Θήβαις ὑπόκειται· ὁ δὲ χορὸς ἐκ  
Θηβαίων ἐστὶ παρθένων· ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσις, στρατιὰ Ἀργείων πολιορκοῦσα  
Θηβαίους, τοὺς καὶ νικήσαντας, καὶ θάνατος Ἐτεοκλέους καὶ Πολυνεί-  
κους. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Θεαγένους Ὀλυμπιάδι σή'. ἐνίκα Λαῖψ, Οἰδίποδι,  
5 Ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, Σφιγγὶ σατυρικῇ. β̄ (δεύτερος) Ἀριστίας Περσεῖ,  
Ταντάλῳ, Παλαισταῖς σατυρικοῖς τοῖς Πρατίνου πατρός. γ̄ (τρίτος)  
Πολυφράδμων Λυκουργείᾳ τετραλογία.

### Τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα·

Ἐτεοκλῆς

Ἀντιγόνη

ἄγγελος κατάσκοπος

Ἰσμήνη

χορὸς παρθένων

κῆρυξ

Argumentum] 1 ἐπὶ Θήβαις, ἐν suprascr. m 2 στρατιὰ] στρα-  
τεία m 4 Θεαγενίδου Franz ὁλ. σή'] i. e. anno A. C. 467  
5 Ἀριστίων] Ἀριστίας Franz 7 Λυκουργείᾳ] λυκουργία m

## ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

Κάδμου πολῖται, χρὴ λέγειν τὰ καίρια  
 ὅστις φυλάσσει πρᾶγος ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως  
 οἴακα νωμῶν, βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν ὕπνῳ.  
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὖ πράξαιμεν, αἰτία θεοῦ·  
 εἰ δ' αὖθ', ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, συμφορὰ τύχοι,  
 Ἐτεοκλῆς ἂν εἰς πολὺς κατὰ πτόλιν .  
 ὕμνοϊθ' ὑπ' ἀστῶν φροιμίους πολυρρόθοις  
 οἰμώγμασιν θ', ὧν Ζεὺς ἀλεξητήριος  
 ἐπώνυμος γένοιτο Καδμείων πόλει.  
 ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ νῦν, καὶ τὸν ἐλλείποντ' ἔτι  
 ἥβης ἀκμαίας καὶ τὸν ἕξηβον χρόνῳ,  
 βλαστημὸν ἀλδαίνοντα σώματος πολύν,  
 ὦραν τ' ἔχονθ' ἕκαστον ὥστε συμπρεπές,  
 πόλει τ' ἀρήγειν καὶ θεῶν ἐγχώρῳ  
 βωμοῖσι, τιμὰς μὴ ἔξαιφθῆναί ποτε·  
 τέκνοις τε, Γῇ τε μητρὶ, φιλτάτῃ τροφῷ·  
 ἢ γὰρ νέους ἔρποντας εὐμενεὶ πέδῳ,  
 ἅπαντα πανδοκοῦσα παιδείας ὄτλον,  
 ἐθρέψατ' οἰκητῆρας ἀσπιδηφόρους  
 πιστοὺς ὅπως γένοισθε πρὸς χρέος τόδε.  
 καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τόδ' ἡμᾶρ εὖ ῥέπει θεός·

5

10

15

20

6 πολὺς quod omiserat supra scr. M 13 ὦραν M : ὦραν m  
 τ' add. m<sub>1</sub> ὥστε rec. Stanley : ὥστι ex ὥστις factum M 19 οἰ-  
 κητῆρας recc. : οἰκιστῆρας M et plerique 20 fortasse πιστοὶ θ'

χρόνον γὰρ ἤδη τόνδε πυργηρουμένοις  
 καλῶς τὰ πλείω πόλεμος ἐκ θεῶν κυρεῖ.  
 νῦν δ' ὥς ὁ μάντις φησὶν, οἰωνῶν βοτῆρ,  
 ἐν ὧσὶ νωμῶν καὶ φρεσὶν, πυρὸς δίχα, 25  
 χρηστηρίους ὄρνιθας ἀψευδεῖ τέχνη·  
 οὗτος τοιῶνδε δεσπότης μαντευμάτων  
 λέγει μεγίστην προσβολὴν Ἀχαιίδα  
 νυκτηγορεῖσθαι κάπιβούλευσιν πόλει.  
 ἀλλ' ἔς τ' ἐπάλξεις καὶ πύλας πυργωμάτων 30  
 ὀρμᾶσθε πάντες, σοῦσθε σὺν παντευχία,  
 πληροῦτε θωρακεῖα, κάπὶ σέλμασιν  
 πύργων στάθητε, καὶ πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοις  
 μίμνοντες εὖ θαρσεῖτε, μῆδ' ἐπηλύδων  
 ταρβεῖτ' ἄγαν ὄμιλον· εὖ τελεῖ θεός. 35  
 σκοποὺς δὲ καγὼ καὶ κατοπτήρας στρατοῦ  
 ἔπεμψα, τοὺς πέποιθα μὴ ματᾶν ὁδῶ·  
 καὶ τῶνδ' ἀκούσας οὗ τι μὴ ληφθῶ δόλφ.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

Ἐτεόκλεες, φέριστε Καδμείων ἀναξ,  
 ἤκω σαφή τὰ κεῖθεν ἐκ στρατοῦ φέρων, 40  
 αὐτὸς κατόπτῃς δ' εἴμ' ἐγὼ τῶν πραγμάτων·  
 ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐπτά, θούριοι λοχαγέται,  
 ταυροσφαγοῦντες ἐς μελάνδετον σάκος  
 καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου,  
 Ἄρη τ', Ἐννώ, καὶ φιλαίματος Φόβου 45  
 ὥρκωμότησαν ἢ πόλει κατασκαφὰς  
 θέντες λαπάξιν ἄστν Καδμείων βία,  
 ἢ γῆν θανόντες τήνδε φυράσειν φόνῳ·  
 μνημεῖά θ' αὐτῶν τοῖς τεκοῦσιν ἐς δόμους  
 πρὸς ἄρμ' Ἀδράστου χερσὶν ἔστεφον, δάκρυ 50  
 λείβοντες· οἶκτος δ' οὔτις ἦν διὰ στόμα.

σιδηρόφρων γὰρ θυμὸς ἀνδρεία φλέγων  
 ἔπνει, λεόντων ὡς Ἄρη δεδορκότων.  
 καὶ τῶνδε πίστις οὐκ ὄκνῳ χρονίζεται.  
 κληρουμένους δ' ἔλειπον, ὡς πάλῳ λαχὼν 55  
 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πρὸς πύλας ἄγοι λόχον.  
 πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀρίστους ἀνδρας ἐκκρίτους πόλεως  
 πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοισι τάγευσαι τάχος·  
 ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἦδη πάνοπλος Ἀργείων στρατὸς  
 χωρεῖ, κονίει, πεδία δ' ἀργηστής ἀφρὸς 60  
 χραίνει σταλαγμοῖς ἱππικῶν ἐκ πλευμόνων.  
 σὺ δ' ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸς οἰακοστροφός  
 φράξαι πόλισμα, πρὶν καταγίσει πνοᾶς  
 Ἄρεως· βοᾷ γὰρ κῦμα χερσαῖον στρατοῦ·  
 καὶ τῶνδε καιρὸν ὅστις ὤκιστος λαβέ· 65  
 καὶ γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ πιστὸν ἡμεροσκόπον  
 ὀφθαλμὸν ἔξω, καὶ σαφηνεῖα λόγου  
 εἰδὼς τὰ τῶν θύραθεν ἀβλαβῆς ἔσει.

Εἴ. ὦ Ζεῦ τε καὶ Γῇ καὶ πολιτισσοῦχοι θεοί,  
 Ἄρά τ' Ἐρινὺς πατρὸς ἡ μεγασθενῆς, 70  
 μή μοι πόλιν γε πρυμνόθεν πανώλεθρον  
 ἐκθαμνίσητε δηάλωτον, Ἑλλάδος  
 φθόγγον χέουσαν, καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους·  
 ἐλευθέραν δὲ γῆν τε καὶ Κάδμου πόλιν  
 ζυγοῖσι δουλίοισι μήποτε σχεθεῖν· 75  
 γένεσθε δ' ἀλκή· ξυνὰ δ' ἐλπίζω λέγειν·  
 πόλις γὰρ εὔπρασσουσα δαίμονας τίει.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

θρέομαι φοβερὰ μεγάλ' ἄχῃ·  
 μεθεῖται στρατός· στρατόπεδον λιπὼν  
 ρεῖ πολὺς ὅδε λεὼς πρόδρομος ἱππότας· 80

54 πίστις rec. et Stobaeus (vii. 11) : πίστις codd. cett. 61 πλευμόνων  
 M : πνευμόνων recc. 71 πρυμνόθεν codd. : πρέμνοθεν Valckenārium  
 secuti edd. plerique 75 δουλίοισι Aldina : δουλείοισι codd. σχε-  
 θεῖν Blomfield : σχεθεῖν codd. 78-107 inter choreutas distribuendi



αἰθερία κόνις με πείθει φανείσ',  
 ἄναυδος σαφῆς ἔτυμος ἄγγελος.—  
 ἔτι δὲ γὰς ἐμὰς πεδί' ὀπλόκτυπ' ὦ-  
 τὶ χρίμπτει βοάν· ποτᾶται, βρέμει δ'  
 ἀμαχέτου δίκαν ὕδατος ὀροτύπου.—  
 ἰὼ ἰὼ θεοὶ

85

θεαί τ' ὀρόμενον κακὸν ἀλεύσατε.—  
 βοᾷ ὑπὲρ τειχέων  
 ὁ λεύκασπις ὄρνυται λαὸς εὐ-  
 τρεπῆς ἐπὶ πόλιν [διώκων].—  
 τίς ἄρα ρύσεται, τίς ἄρ' ἐπαρκέσει  
 θεῶν ἢ θεῶν;

90

πότερα δῆτ' ἐγὼ <πάτρια> προσπέσω  
 βρέτη δαιμόνων;—

95

ἰὼ μάκαρες εὐῆδροι,  
 ἀκμάζει βρετέων ἔχεσθαι· τί μέλ-  
 λομεν ἀγάστονοι;—  
 ἀκούετ' ἢ οὐκ ἀκούετ' ἀσπίδων κτύπον;  
 πέπλων καὶ στεφάνων πότε· εἰ μὴ νῦν ἀμ-  
 φὶ λιτάν' ἔξομεν;—

100

κτύπον δέδορκα· πάταγος οὐχ ἑνὸς δορός.  
 τί ρέξεις; προδώσεις, παλαίχθων  
 Ἄρης, τὰν τεάν;—

105

ἰὼ χρυσοπήληξ δαῖμον, ἔπιδ' ἐπι-  
 δε πόλιν ἂν ποτ' εὐφιλήταν ἔθον.

θεοὶ πολιόχοι χθονὸς ἴθ' ἄθροοι  
 ἴδετε παρθένων

στρ. α.

110

83-4 ἔτι δὲ γὰς ἐμὰς Paley, πεδί' ὀπλόκτυπ' Seidler, ὡτὶ recc.  
 χρίμπτει βοάν Ritschl: ἑλεδέμας πεδιοπλοκτύπος τί χρίμπτεται βοᾷ M  
 totum locum ita restituit Paley praeceunte Wecklein, nisi quod ἰδὲ  
 pro ἔτι habet 86 ἰὼ ἰὼ recc.: ἰὼ ἰὼ ἰὼ M 88 βοᾷ fortasse  
 secludendum 90 διώκων seclutit Rothe 94 πάτρια add.  
 ex schol. Volckmann 101 στεφάνων ex στεφάνων factum M  
 101-2 ἀμφὶ λιτάν' Seidler: ἀμφίλιταν M: ἀμφὶ λιτὰν m<sub>1</sub> 106 ἰὼ  
 Dindorf: ὦ codd. 109 πολίοχοι Dindorf ἴθ' ἄθροοι Steusloff:  
 ἴθ' ἴτε πάντες codd. (τ supra θ scr. M)

ἱκέσιον λόχον δουλοσύνας ὕπερ.  
 κῦμα [γὰρ] περὶ πτόλιν δοχμολόφων ἀνδρῶν  
 καχλάζει πνοαῖς Ἄρεος ὀρόμενον. 115  
 ἀλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ †παντελές, πάντως  
 ἄρηξον δαίτων ἄλωσιν.  
 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ πόλισμα Κάδμου 120  
 κυκλοῦνται· φόβος δ' ἀρείων ὅπλων.  
 διάδετοι (δέ τοι) γενῶν ἱππίων  
 κινύρονται φόνον χαλινοί.  
 ἐπτα δ' ἀγάνορες πρέποντες στρατοῦ  
 δορυσσοῖς σαγαῖς πύλαις ἐβδόμαις 125  
 . . . προσίστανται πάλῳ λαχόντες.

σύ τ', ὦ Διογενὲς φιλόμαχον κράτος, [ἀντ. α.  
 ῥυσίπολις γενοῦ,  
 Παλλάς, ὃ θ' ἱππιος ποντομέδων ἄναξ 130  
 ἰχθυβόλῳ Ποσειδάων μαχανᾷ,  
 ἐπίλυσιν πόνων, ἐπίλυσιν δίδου.  
 σύ τ', Ἄρης, φεῦ, φεῦ, †ἐπάννυμον Κάδμου πόλιν 135  
 φύλαξον κήδεσσι τ' ἐναργῶς.  
 καὶ Κύπρις, ἅτ' εἰ γένους προμάτωρ, 140  
 ἄλευσον· σέθεν γὰρ ἐξ αἵματος  
 γεγόναμεν· λιταῖσί σε θεοκλύτοις  
 ἀντοῦσαι πελαζόμεσθα.  
 καὶ σύ, Λύκει' ἄναξ, Λύκειος γενοῦ 145

114 γὰρ seclusit Klausen 116 fortasse πάντως, πάτερ παντελές,  
 Wecklein 120 δὲ M, rec.: γὰρ (suprascr.) m, cett. codd.  
 121 ἀρείων Blomfield: ἀρήλων codd. 122 διάδετοι recc.: δια-  
 δέτοι M δέ τοι add. Dindorf γενῶν Dindorf: γενῶν codd.  
 ἱππίων recc. duo: ἱππείων codd. cett. 123 κινύρονται] μινύρονται ex  
 Hesychio (qui προφωνοῦσι interpretatur) L. Dindorf 124 ἀγάνορες  
 codd. 125 δορυσσοῖς Blomfield: δορυσσοῖς codd. Post 125  
 excidit fortasse aliquid: vid. ad 147 131 Ποσειδάων μαχανᾷ  
 Klausen: μαχανᾷ Ποσειδᾶν (vel -δῶν) codd. 135 metro caret  
 φεῦ φεῦ, κηδείαν πόλιν ingeniose Wecklein: πόλιν Κάδμου ἐπάννυ-  
 μον (φεῦ φεῦ seclusis) Dindorf 141 γὰρ recc.: om. M 143 λι-  
 ταῖσι Hermann: λιταῖς codd. 144 ἀντοῦσαι Seidler: ἀπύουσαι codd.

# ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

στρατῶ δαίψ στόνων αὖ τίτας.

†σύ τ', ὦ Λατογένει-

α κούρα, τόξον εὐτυκάζου [\*Αρτεμι φίλα].†

ἐ ἐ ἐ ἐ,

[στρ. β.

ὄτοβον ἀρμάτων ἀμφὶ πόλιν κλύω.

151

ὦ πότνι' Ἥρα.

ἔλακον ἀξόνων βριθομένων χνόαι.

\*Αρτεμι φίλα, [ἐ ἐ ἐ ἐ],

δοριτίνακτος αἰθῆρ δ' ἐπιμαίνεται.

155

τί πόλις ἄμμι πάσχει, τί γενήσεται;

ποῖ δ' ἔτι τέλος ἐπάγει θεός;

ἐ ἐ ἐ ἐ,

[ἀντ. β.

ἀκροβόλων δ' ἐπάλξεων λιθὰς ἔρχεται.

ὦ φίλ' Ἀπολλων.

κόναβος ἐν πύλαις χαλκοδέτων σακέων,

160

παῖ Διός, ὅθεν

πολεμόκραντον ἀγνὸν τέλος ἐν μάχῃ.

σύ τε, μάκαιρ' ἄνασσ' Ὀγκα, πρὸ πόλεως

ἐπτάπυλον ἔδος ἐπιρρύου.

165

ἰὼ παναρκεῖς θεοί,

[στρ. γ.

ἰὼ τέλειοι τέλειαί τε γᾶς

τᾶσδε πυργοφύλακες,

πόλιν δορίπονον μὴ προδῶθ'

ἑτεροφώνῳ στρατῶ.

170

κλύετε παρθένων κλύετε πανδίκως

χειροτόνους λιτάς.

146 αὖ τίτας Schmidt : ἀντὰς codd. : ἀντίτας Wecklein 147-9 stro.  
phae vv. non respondent. Alii hos vv. corrigunt : σύ τ', ὦ Λατωίς,  
εὐτυκάζου Wecklein : rectius fortasse alii ante 126 excidisse aliquid  
existimant 149 \*Αρτεμι φίλα (codd.) secluserit Seidler 155 αἰθῆρ δ'  
Hermann : δ' αἰθῆρ codd. 161 παῖ Διός, ὅθεν von den Bergh : καὶ  
Διόθεν codd. 163-4 μάχῃ. | σύ τε Hermann : μάχαισί | τε M  
166 παναρκεῖς (λ supra ρ scr. m.) M 168 τᾶσδε recc. : τᾶσδέ  
γε M 172 πανδίκως recc. et M (ex πανδίκους correctum)

ἰὼ φίλοι δαίμονες, [ἀντ. γ.  
 λυτήριοί <τ'> ἀμφιβάντες πόλιν, 175  
 δείξασθ' ὥς φιλοπόλεις,  
 μέλεσθέ θ' ἱερῶν δημίων,  
 μελόμενοι δ' ἀρήξατε  
 φιλοθύτων δέ τοι πόλεος ὀργίων  
 μνήστορες ἔστέ μοι. 180

Ετ. ὑμᾶς ἐρωτῶ, θρέμματ' οὐκ ἀνασχετά,  
 ἣ ταῦτ' ἄριστα καὶ πόλει σωτήρια,  
 στρατῷ τε θάρσος τῷδε πυργηρουμένῳ,  
 βρέτη πεσούσας πρὸς πολιισούχων θεῶν 185  
 αὔειν, λακάζειν, σωφρόνων μισήματα;  
 μήτ' ἐν κακοῖσι μήτ' ἐν εὖεστοῖ φίλῃ  
 ξύνοικος εἶην τῷ γυναικείῳ γένει.  
 κρατοῦσα μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμιλητὸν θράσος,  
 δείσασα δ' οἴκῳ καὶ πόλει πλέον κακόν. 190  
 καὶ νῦν πολίταις τάσδε διαδρόμους φυγὰς  
 θεῖσαι διερροθήσατ' ἄψυχον κάκην·  
 τὰ τῶν θύραθεν δ' ὥς ἄριστ' ὀφέλλεται,  
 αὐτοὶ δ' ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐνδοθεν πορθούμεθα.  
 τοιαῦτά τὰν γυναιξὶ συνναίων ἔχοις. 195  
 κεῖ μή τις ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀκούσεται,  
 ἀνὴρ γυνή τε χῶ τι τῶν μεταίχμιον,  
 ψῆφος κατ' αὐτῶν ὀλεθρία βουλευέσεται,  
 λευστήρα δήμου δ' οὐ τι μὴ φύγῃ μόρον.  
 μέλει γὰρ ἀνδρί, μὴ γυνὴ βουλευέτω, 200  
 τᾶξωθεν· ἐνδον δ' οὔσα μὴ βλάβην τίθει.  
 ἤκουσας ἢ οὐκ ἤκουσας, ἢ κωφῇ λέγω;

Χο. ὦ φίλον Οἰδίπου τέκος, ἔδεισ' ἀκού- [στρ. α.  
 σασα τὸν ἀρματοκτυπον ὄτοβον ὄτοβον,

175 τ' add. Seidler 176 φιλοπόλεις Wunderlich : φιλοπόλεις M et  
 codd. plerique 177 θ' recc. : δ' M 179 πόλεος Porson : πόλεως codd.  
 195 habent recc. : omittit M 204 ὕττοβον bis recc. : ὄτοβον semel M



ὅτε τε σύριγγες ἔκλαγξαν ἐλίτροχοι,  
 ἱππικῶν τ' ἄπυον πηδαλίων διὰ στόμα  
 πυριγενετᾶν χαλινῶν.

205

Ετ. τί οὖν; ὁ ναύτης ἄρα μὴ 'ς πρῶραν φυγὼν  
 πρύμνηθεν ἡῦρε μηχανὴν σωτηρίας,  
 νεὼς καμούσης ποντίῳ πρὸς κύματι;

210

Χο. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δαιμόνων πρόδρομος ἦλθον ἀρ- [ἀντ. α.  
 χαῖα βρέτη, θεοῖσι πίσυνος, νιφάδος  
 ὅτ' ὀλοᾶς νιφομένας βρόμος ἐν πύλαις·  
 δὴ τότε ἤρθην φόβῳ πρὸς μακάρων λιτάς, πόλεως  
 ἵν' ὑπερέχοιεν ἀλκάν.

215

Ετ. πύργον στέγειν εὐχέσθε πολέμιον δόρυ.

Χο. οὐκουν τάδ' ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν;

Ετ. ἀλλ' οὖν θεοὺς  
 τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης πόλεος ἐκλείπειν λόγος.

Χο. μήποτ' ἐμὸν κατ' αἰῶνα λίποι θεῶν  
 ἄδε πανάγυρις, μηδ' ἐπίδοιμι τάνδ'  
 ἀστυδρομουμέναν πόλιν καὶ στράτευμ'  
 ἀπτόμενον πυρὶ δαίφ.

[στρ. β.

220

Ετ. μή μοι θεοὺς καλοῦσα βουλεύου κακῶς·  
 πειθαρχία γάρ ἐστι τῆς εὐπραξίας  
 μήτηρ, γονῆς σωτῆρος· ᾧδ' ἔχει λόγος.

225

Χο. ἔστι θεοῦ δ' ἔτ' ἰσχύς καθυπερτέρα·  
 πολλάκι δ' ἐν κακοῖσι τὸν ἀμάχανον

[ἀντ. β.

205 ὅτε rec. : ὅτι M 206 ἄπυον Lachmann : ἀύπνων codd.  
 210 πρὸς recc. : ἐν (in rasura) M 212 θεοῖσι πίσυνος Seidler :  
 πίσυνος θεοῖς codd. 216-218 tres vv. ita distribuit m<sub>1</sub>, recc. :  
 Eteocli continuat M 217 οὐκουν M : οὐκοῦν m<sub>1</sub>, recc. 218 πό-  
 λεος recc. pauci : πόλεως codd. cett. 219 λείποι M 222 fortasse  
 δαίφ (πάν) Enger 225 γονῆς Hermann : γυνή codd. 226 θεοῦ  
 M : θεοῖς m recc. 227 τὸν ex schol. Canter : τὰν codd.

κακ χαλεπᾶς δῦας ὑπερθ' ὀμμάτων  
κρημναμενᾶν νεφελᾶν ὀρθοῖ.

Ετ. ἀνδρῶν τάδ' ἐστί, σφάγια καὶ χρηστήρια 230  
θεοῖσιν ἔρδειν, πολεμίων πειρωμένων·  
σὸν δ' αὖ τὸ σιγᾶν καὶ μένειν εἴσω δόμων.

Χο. διὰ θεῶν πόλιν νεμόμεθ' ἀδάματον, [στρ. γ.  
δυσμενέων δ' ὄχλον πύργος ἀποστέγει.  
τίς τάδε νέμεσις στυγεῖ; 235

Ετ. οὔτοι φθονῶ σοι δαιμόνων τιμᾶν γένος·  
ἀλλ' ὥς πολίτας μὴ κακοσπλάγχχνους τιθῆς,  
εὐκηλος ἴσθι μηδ' ἄγαν ὑπερφοβοῦ.

Χο. ποτίφατον κλύουσα πάταγον ἀνάμιγα [ἀντ. γ.  
ταρβοσύνη φόβῳ τάνδ' ἐς ἀκρόπτολιν, 240  
τίμιον ἔδος, ἰκόμαν.

Ετ. μή νυν, ἐὰν θνήσκοντας ἢ τετρωμένους  
πύθησθε, κωκυτοῖσιν ἀρπαλίζετε.  
τούτῳ γὰρ Ἄρης βόσκεται, φόνῳ βροτῶν.

Χο. καὶ μὴν ἀκούω γ' ἱππικῶν φρυαγμάτων. 245

Ετ. μή νυν ἀκούουσ' ἐμφανῶς ἄκου' ἄγαν.

Χο. στένει πόλισμα γῆθεν, ὥς κυκλουμένων.

Ετ. οὐκοῦν ἐμ' ἀρκεῖ τῶνδε βουλευεῖν πέρι.

Χο. δέδοικ', ἀραγμὸς δ' ἐν πύλαις ὀφέλλεται.

Ετ. οὐ σίγα μηδὲν τῶνδ' ἑρεῖς κατὰ πτόλιν; 250

Χο. ᾧ ξυντέλεια, μὴ προδῶς πυργώματα.

Ετ. οὐκ ἐς φθόρον σιγῶς' ἀνασχήσει τάδε;

229 κρημναμενᾶν νεφελᾶν Hermann : κρημναμέναν (vel κριμν.) νεφέ-  
λαν codd. fortasse ἀνορθοῖ Enger 231 πειρωμένων] πειρωμένοις  
(ων supra scr. m<sub>1</sub>) M 233 ἀδάματον Pauw : ἀδάμαντον M  
235 τίς Heath : τί codd. 239 ποτίφατον Heimsoeth : ποταίνιον  
codd. ἀνάμιγα rec. : ἄμιγα M 240 ἀκρόπτολιν Porson : ἀκρό-  
πολιν codd. plerique 252 φθόρον m<sub>1</sub> : φόνον M

- Χο. θεοὶ πολῖται, μή με δουλείας τυχεῖν.  
 Ετ. αὐτὴ σὺ δουλοῖς καὶ σὲ καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν.  
 Χο. ὦ παγκρατὲς Ζεῦ, τρέψον εἰς ἐχθροὺς βέλος. 255  
 Ετ. ὦ Ζεῦ, γυναικῶν οἶον ὥπασας γένος.  
 Χο. μοχθηρόν, ὥσπερ ἄνδρας ὦν ἁλῶ πόλιν.  
 Ετ. παλινστομεῖς αὐθιγάνουσ' ἀγαλμάτων;  
 Χο. ἀψυχία γὰρ γλῶσσαν ἀρπάζει φόβος.  
 Ετ. αἰτουμένῳ μοι κοῦφον εἰ δοῖς τέλος. 260  
 Χο. λέγοις ἂν ὥς τάχιστα, καὶ τάχ' εἴσομαι.  
 Ετ. σίγησον, ὦ τάλαινα, μὴ φίλους φόβει.  
 Χο. σιγῶ· σὺν ἄλλοις πείσομαι τὸ μόρσιμον.  
 Ετ. τοῦτ' ἀντ' ἐκείνων τοῦπος αἰροῦμαι σέθεν.  
 καὶ πρὸς γε τούτοις, ἐκτὸς οὖσ' ἀγαλμάτων, 265  
 εὔχου τὰ κρείσσω, ξυμμάχους εἶναι θεούς·  
 κἀμῶν ἀκούσας' εὐγμάτων, ἔπειτα σὺ  
 ὀλολυγμὸν ἱρὸν εὐμενῇ παιώνισον,  
 Ἑλληνικὸν νόμισμα θυστάδος βοῆς,  
 θάρσος φίλοις, λύουσα πολέμιον φόβον. 270  
 ἐγὼ δὲ χώρας τοῖς πολιτισσοῦχοις θεοῖς,  
 πεδιονόμοις τε κἀγορᾶς ἐπισκόποις,  
 Δίρκης τε πηγαῖς, ὕδατί τ' Ἴσμηνοῦ λέγω,  
 εὖ ξυντυχόντων καὶ πόλεως σεσωσμένης,  
 †[μήλοισιν αἰμάσσοντας ἐστίας θεῶν, 275  
 ταυροκτονούντας θεοῖσιν, ὧδ' ἐπεύχομαι  
 θήσειω τροπαῖα, πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήματα,]  
 λάφυρα δᾶων δουρίπηχθ' ἄγνοῖς δόμοις,  
 στέψω πρὸ ναῶν, πολεμίων [δ'] ἐσθήματα.†

254 καὶ σὲ Wunderlich : καμὲ M : καμὲ καὶ σὲ καὶ πόλιν recc.  
 duo 267 ἀκούσας M 268 παιώνισον M : παιάνισον m<sub>1</sub> recc.  
 273 ὕδατί τ' Geel : οὐδ' ἀπ' codd. : ingeniose οὐδ' ἀπ' Ἴσμηνον Abresch  
 275-9 corrupta ac redundantia varie reciduntur. Praestat fortasse  
 cum L. Dindorf 275-7 secludere : vel cum Hermanno vv. 277-9 ita in  
 duo versus redigere : θήσειω τροπαῖα, δαῖων δ' ἐσθήματα | στέψω πρὸ  
 ναῶν δουρίπηχθ' ἄγνοῖς δόμοις 277 ἐσθήματα (τα suprascr. m) M  
 278 δουρίπηχθ' Dindorf : δουρίπληχθ' codd. 279 δ' secluit L. Dindorf

τοιαῦτ' ἐπεύχου μὴ φιλοστόνως θεοῖς, 280  
 μῆδ' ἐν ματαίοις κἀγρίοις ποιφύγμασιν·  
 οὐ γάρ τι μᾶλλον μὴ φύγῃς τὸ μόρσιμον.  
 ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἄνδρας ἕξ ἐμοὶ σὺν ἐβδόμῳ  
 ἀντηρέτας ἐχθροῖσι τὸν μέγαν τρόπον  
 εἰς ἐπτατειχεῖς ἐξόδους τάξω μολών, 285  
 πρὶν ἀγγέλους σπερχynoύς τε καὶ ταχυρρόθους  
 λόγους ἰκέσθαι καὶ φλέγειν χρείας ὕπο.

Χο. μέλει, φόβῳ δ' οὐχ ὑπνώσσει κέαρ· [στρ. α.  
 γείτονες δὲ καρδίας  
 μέριμναι ζωπυροῦσι τάρβος 290  
 τὸν ἀμφιτειχῇ λεών,  
 δράκοντας ὥς τις τέκνων  
 ὑπερδέδοικεν λεχαίων δυσεννάτορας  
 πάντρομος πελειάς.  
 τοὶ μὲν γὰρ ποτὶ πύργους 295  
 πανδαμεὶ πανομιλεῖ  
 στείχουσιν. τί γένωμαι;  
 τοὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφιβόλοισιν  
 ἰάπτουσι πολίταις  
 χερμάδ' ὀκριόεσαν. 300  
 παντὶ τρόπῳ, Διογενεῖς  
 θεοί, πόλιν καὶ στρατὸν  
 Καδμογενὴ ῥύεσθε.

ποῖον δ' ἀμείψεσθε γαίας πέδον [ἀντ. α.  
 τᾶσδ' ἄρειον, ἐχθροῖς 305  
 ἀφέντες τὰν βαθύχθον' αἶαν,

281 ποιφύγμασιν recc.: ποφοίγμασιν (i supra πο, οι in litura) M  
 283 δέ γ' anon.: δ' ἐπ' codd. 292 δράκοντας Bothe: δράκοντα δ'  
 codd. 293 λεχαίων Lachmann: λεχέων codd. δυσεννάτορας  
 Bothe: δευσευνητορας (ei supra ο, α supra ασ ser. m.) M 294 πάν-  
 τρομος M: πάντροφος m et recc. [ante παντ. α habet M: omittunt recc.]  
 296 πανδημεὶ M



ὔδωρ τε Διρκαῖον, εὐ-  
τραφέστατον πωμάτων  
ὄσων ἦσιν Ποσει-  
δάν ὁ γαῖαρχος 310

Τηθύος τε παῖδες.  
πρὸς τὰδ', ὧ πολιοῦχοι  
θεοί, τοῖσι μὲν ἕξω  
πύργων ἀνδρολέτειραν  
κῆρα, ῥίψοπλον ἄταν, 315  
ἐμβαλόντες ἄροισθε  
κῦδος τοῖσδε πολίταις.  
καὶ πόλεως ῥύτορες <ἔστ'>  
εὐεδροί τε στάθητ'  
ὄξυγόοις λιταῖσιν. 320

οἰκτρὸν γὰρ πόλιν ὧδ' ὠγυγίαν [στρ. β.  
'Αἶδα προῖάψαι, δορὸς ἄγραν,  
δουλίαν ψαφαρᾶ σποδῶ  
ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιοῦ θεόθεν  
περθομένην ἀτίμως, 325  
τὰς δὲ κεχειρωμένας ἄγεσθαι,  
ἐξ, νέας τε καὶ παλαιὰς  
ἱππηδὸν πλοκάμων, περιρ-  
ρηγνυμένων φαρέων.  
βοᾷ δ' ἐκκενουμένα πόλις, 330  
λαῖδος ὀλλυμένας μιξοθρόον·  
βαρείας τοι τύχας προταρβῶ.

κλαυτὸν δ' ἀρτιτρόφοις ὠμοδρόποις [αντ. β.  
νομίμων προπάρουθεν διαμεῖψαι

307-8 εὐτραφέστατον recs. : εὐτρεφέστατον M 315 κῆρα, ῥίψ.  
Lowinski : καταρίψ. M, καὶ τὰν ῥίψ. m 318 ἔστ' add. W. Headlam  
323 δουλίαν rec. : δουλείαν codd. cett. 326 κεχειρωμένας (ει supra  
ηscr. m<sub>1</sub>) M 333 ἀρτιτρόφοις Schneider : ἀρτιτρόποις δ suprascr. m)  
M : ἀρτιτρόποις codd. cett. ὠμοδρόποις Ritschl : ὠμοδρόπων M et  
codd. plerique

δωμάτων στυγερὰν ὁδόν· 335  
 τί γάρ; φθίμενόν τοι προλέγω  
 βέλτερά τῶνδε πράσσειν·  
 πολλὰ γάρ, εὔτε πτόλις δαμασθῇ,  
 ἔξ, δυστυχῇ τε πράσσει.  
 ἄλλος δ' ἄλλον ἄγει, φονεύ- 340  
 ει, τὰ δὲ καὶ πυρφορεῖ·  
 καπνῷ [δὲ] χραίνεται πόλισμ' ἅπαν·  
 μαινόμενος δ' ἐπιπνεί λαοδάμας  
 μαιίνων εὐσέβειαν Ἄρης.

κορκορυγαὶ δ' ἀν' ἄστν, [στρ. γ. 346  
 ποτὶ [πτόλιν] δ' ὀρκάνα πυργῶτις.  
 πρὸς ἀνδρὸς δ' ἀνὴρ στὰς δορὶ καίνεται·  
 βλαχαὶ δ' αἱματόεσσαι  
 τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίῳν  
 ) ἀρτιτρεφεῖς βρέμονται. 350  
 ἀρπαγαὶ δὲ διαδρομῶν ὁμαίμονες·  
 ξυμβολεῖ φέρων φέρουντι,  
 καὶ κενὸς κενὸν καλεῖ,  
 ξύννομον θέλων ἔχειν,  
 οὔτε μείον οὔτ' ἴσον. λελιμμένοι. 355  
 τίν' ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰκάσαι λόγον πάρα;

παντοδαπὸς δὲ καρπὸς [ἀντ. γ.  
 χαμάδις πεσὼν ἀλγύνει [κυρήσας],  
 πικρὸν δ' ὄμμα <τᾶν> θαλαμηπόλων·  
 πολλὰ δ' ἀκριτόφυρτος 360  
 γᾶς δόσις οὔτιδανοῖς

336 τί γάρ; Blomfield : τί; τὸν codd.      τοι (ε cod. G) Blomfield :  
 γὰρ codd.      342 δὲ seclisut Brunck      346 πτόλιν seclisut Her-  
 mann      347 κλίνεται (καὶ supra κλι scr. m<sub>1</sub>) M      350 ἀρτι-  
 βρεφεῖς recc. aliquot      352 ξυμβολεῖ (αλλ supra ο scr. m<sub>1</sub>) M  
 355 λελιμμένοι recc. : λελημμένοι M      356 τίν' recc. : τί sequente  
 litura M, τίν' m<sub>1</sub>      λόγον Dindorf : λόγος codd.      358 κυρήσας  
 seclisut Dindorf      359 τᾶν add. Wecklein

ἐν ῥοθίοις φορεῖται.

δμωίδες δὲ καινοπήμονες † νέαι

τλήμονες εὐνὰν αἰχμάλωτον†

ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχοῦντος, αἷς

365

δυσμενοῦς ὑπερτέρου

ἐλπὶς ἐστὶ νύκτερον τέλος μολεῖν,

παγκλαύτων ἀλγέων ἐπίρροθον.

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΙΟΝ

ὃ τοι κατόπτῃς, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, στρατοῦ

πευθῶ τιν' ἡμῖν, ᾧ φίλαι, νέαν φέρει,

370

σπουδῇ διώκων πομπίμους χυόας ποδοῖν.

Ημ. καὶ μὴν ἄναξ ὅδ' αὐτὸς Οἰδίπου τόκος

εἰς ἀρτίκολλον ἀγγέλου λόγον μαθεῖν·

| σπουδῇ δὲ καὶ τοῦδ' εὖ καταρτίζει πόδα.

Αγ. λέγοιμ' ἂν εἰδὼς εὖ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων,

375

ὥς τ' ἐν πύλαις ἕκαστος εἴληχεν πάλον.

Τυδεὺς μὲν ἤδη πρὸς πύλαισι Προϊτίσιν

βρέμει, πόρον δ' Ἴσμηνὸν οὐκ ἐᾷ περᾶν

ὁ μάντις· οὐ γὰρ σφάγια γίγνεται καλά.

Τυδεὺς δὲ μαργῶν καὶ μάχης λελιμμένος

380

μεσημβριναῖς κλαγγαῖσιν ὥς δράκων βοᾷ·

θείνει δ' ὀνειδίζει μάντιν Οἰκλείδην σοφόν,

σαίνειν μόρον τε καὶ μάχην ἀψυχία.

τοιαῦτ' αὐτῶν τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους

σεῖει, κράνους χαίτωμ', ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δὲ τῷ

385

χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον·

ἔχει δ' ὑπέρφρον σῆμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τόδε,

362 ῥοθίοις recc. : ῥοθίοισι M 363-4 corrupta nondum sanantur. νέαι τλήμονες tanquam καινοπήμονες interpretantis eiecit Butler. Praestat fortasse τλᾶσαν αἰχμ. εὐνὰν Hartung, vel κῆδος ἡδρον αἰχμ. 365 αἷς Butler : ὥς codd. 373 εἰς Porson : εἰς' codd. 374 εὖ καταρτίζει Weil : οὐκ ἀπαρτίζει codd. 376 ὥστε in rasura (ut videtur) m<sub>1</sub> 379 γίγνεται Porson : γίνεται codd. 380 λιμένος M, λε adscr. m, μ m<sub>1</sub> 382 θείνει recc. : θένει M 385 δὲ τῷ recc. : δ' ἐσώ M, τῷ m<sub>1</sub>

φλέγονθ' ὑπ' ἄστροις οὐρανὸν τετυγμένον·  
λαμπρὰ δὲ πανσέληνος ἐν μέσῳ σάκει,  
πρέσβιστον ἄστρον, νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμός, πρέπει. 390

τοιαῦτ' ἀλύων ταῖς ὑπερκόμποις σαγαῖς  
βοᾷ παρ' ὄχθαις ποταμίαις, μάχης ἐρῶν,  
ἵππος χαλινῶν ὥς κατασθμαίνων μένει,  
ὅστις βοὴν σάλπιγγος ὀρμαίνει κλύων.

τίν' ἀντιτάξεις τῷδε; τίς Προΐτου πυλῶν 395  
κλήθρων λυθέντων προστατεῖν φερέγγυος;

Ετ. κόσμον μὲν ἀνδρὸς οὕτιν' ἂν τρέσαιμι' ἐγώ,  
οὐδ' ἐλκοποιὰ γίγνεται τὰ σήματα·

λόφοι δὲ κώδων τ' οὐ δάκνουσ' ἄνευ δορός.  
καὶ νύκτα ταύτην ἣν λέγεις ἐπ' ἀσπίδος 400

ἄστροισι μαρμαίρουσαν οὐρανοῦ κυρεῖν,  
τάχ' ἂν γένοιτο μάντις ἀνοία τινί.

εἰ γὰρ θανόντι νύξ ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πέσοι,  
τῷ τοι φέρουντι σῆμ' ὑπέρκομπον τῷδε

γένοιτ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ἐνδίκως τ' ἐπώνυμον, 405  
καὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ τήνδ' ὕβριν μαντεύσεται.

ἐγὼ δὲ Τυδεῖ κεδνὸν Ἀστακοῦ τόκον

τῶνδ' ἀντιτάξω προστάτην πυλωμάτων,  
μάλ' εὐγενῇ τε καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύνης θρόνον

τιμῶντα καὶ στυγοῦνθ' ὑπέρφρονας λόγους. 410  
αἰσχυρῶν γὰρ ἀργός, μὴ κακὸς δ' εἶναι φιλεῖ.

σπαρτῶν δ' ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν, ὧν Ἀρης ἐφείσατο,  
ρίζωμ' ἀνεῖται, κάρτα δ' ἔστ' ἐγχώριος,

Μελάνιππος· ἔργον δ' ἐν κύβοις Ἀρης κρινεῖ·

Δίκη δ' ὀμαίμων κάρτα νιν προστέλλεται 415  
εἴργειν τεκούση μητρὶ πολέμιον δόρυ.

391 ἀγαῖς (σ adscr. m<sub>1</sub>) M 394 κλύων ex schol. Tyrwhitt:  
μένων (e 393) M 398 γίνεται codd. 402 ἡ ἀνοία (accent.  
mutat. ἀνοία m) M 406 μαντεύεται M, σ add. m 415 ὀμαί-  
μων M : δ supra μ scr. m<sub>1</sub> (i. e. δ δαίμων), quod habent recc.



Χο. τὸν ἁμόν νυν ἀντίπαλον εὐτυχεῖν  
 θεοὶ δοῖεν, ὥς δικαίως πόλεως  
 πρόμαχος ὄρνυται· τρέμω δ' αἵματη-  
 φόρους μόρους ὑπὲρ φίλων  
 ὀλομένων ιδέσθαι. [στρ. α.]

420

Αγ. τούτῳ μὲν οὕτως εὐτυχεῖν δοῖεν θεοί·  
 Καπανεὺς δ' ἐπ' Ἡλέκτραισιν εἴληχεν πύλαις,  
 γίγας ὃδ' ἄλλος τοῦ πάρος λελεγμένου  
 μείζων, ὁ κόμπος δ' οὐ κατ' ἀνθρωπον φρονεῖ,  
 πύργοις δ' ἀπειλεῖ δεῖν', ἃ μὴ κραίνοι τύχη·  
 θεοῦ τε γὰρ θέλοντος ἐκπέρσειν πόλιν  
 καὶ μὴ θέλοντός φησιν, οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς  
 Ἔριν πέδοι σκήψασαν ἐμποδῶν σχεθεῖν.  
 τὰς δ' ἀστραπὰς τε καὶ κεραυνίους βολὰς  
 μεσημβρινοῖσι θάλπεσιν προσήκασεν·  
 ἔχει δὲ σῆμα γυμνὸν ἄνδρα πυρφόρον,  
 φλέγει δὲ λαμπὰς διὰ χερῶν ὥπλισμένη·  
 χρυσοῖς δὲ φωνεῖ γράμμασιν 'Πρήσω πόλιν.'  
 τοιῶδε φωτὶ πέμπε—τίς ξυστήσεται,  
 τίς ἄνδρα κομπάσαντα μὴ τρέσας μενεῖ;

425

430

435

Ετ. καὶ τῷδε κόμπῳ κέρδος ἄλλο τίκτεται.  
 τῶν τοι ματαίων ἀνδράσιν φρονημάτων  
 ἢ γλῶσσ' ἀληθῆς γίγνεται κατήγορος.  
 Καπανεὺς δ' ἀπειλεῖ δρᾶν παρεσκευασμένος,  
 θεοὺς ἀτίζων, κάπογυμνάζων στόμα  
 χαρᾷ ματαία θνητὸς ὦν εἰς οὐρανὸν  
 πέμπει γεγωνὰ Ζηνὶ κυμαίνοντ' ἔπη·  
 πέποιθα δ' αὐτῷ ξὺν δίκῃ τὸν πυρφόρον  
 ἥξειν κεραυνόν, οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένον

440

445

422 θεοὶ δοῖεν M, corrigit m 429 πέδοι Dindorf: πέδω codd.  
 436 κομπάσαντα M: κομπάζοντα m, et recc. 437 κόμπω Keck:  
 κέρδει codd. 439 γίνεταί codd. 440—I ἀπειλεῖ . . . θεοὺς  
 secludere volt Wecklein 443 γεγωνὰ Brunck: γεγωνᾷ (i adscr.  
 m) M recc. plerique 444 πυρφόρον recc.: πυρφόρων M

μεσημβρινοῖσι θάλπεσιν τοῖς ἡλίον.  
 ἀνὴρ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ, κεῖ στόμαργός ἐστ' ἄγαν,  
 αἶθων τέτακται λῆμα, Πολυφόντου βία,  
 φερέγγυον φρούρημα, προστατηρίας  
 Ἀρτεμίδος εὐνοίαισι σύν τ' ἄλλοις θεοῖς.  
 λέγ' ἄλλον ἄλλαις ἐν πύλαις εἰληχότα.

450

Χο. ὅλοιθ' ὅς πόλει μεγάλ' ἐπεύχεται,  
 κεραυνοῦ δέ νιν βέλος ἐπισχέθαι,  
 πρὶν ἐμὸν ἐσθορεῖν δόμον, πωλικῶν θ'  
 ἐδωλίῳν <μ> ὑπερκόπῃ  
 δορί ποτ' ἐκλαπάξαι.

[ἀντ. α.]

455

Αγ. [καὶ μὴν τὸν ἐντεῦθεν λαχόντα πρὸς πύλαις]  
 λέξω· τρίτῳ γὰρ Ἑτεόκλῳ τρίτος πάλος  
 ἐξ ὑπτίου πῆδησεν εὐχάλκου κράνους,  
 πύλαισι Νηίσταισι προσβαλεῖν λόχον.  
 ἵππους δ' ἐν ἀμπυκτῆρσιν ἐμβριμωμένας  
 δινεῖ, θελούσας πρὸς πύλαις πεπτωκέσαι.  
 φιμοὶ δὲ συρίζουσι βάρβαρον βρόμον,  
 μυκτηροκόμποις πνεύμασιν πληρούμενοι.  
 ἐσχημάτισται δ' ἀσπίς οὐ σμικρὸν τρόπον·  
 ἀνὴρ [δ'] ὀπλίτης κλίμακος προσαμβάσεις  
 στείχει πρὸς ἐχθρῶν πύργον, ἐκπέρσαι θέλων.  
 βοᾷ δὲ χοῦτος γραμμάτων ἐν ξυλλαβαῖς,  
 ὥς οὐδ' ἂν Ἀρης σφ' ἐκβάλοι πυργωμάτων.  
 καὶ τῷδε φωτὶ πέμπε τὸν φερέγγυον  
 πόλεως ἀπείργειν τῆσδε δούλιον ζυγόν.

460

465

470

Ετ. πέμποιμ' ἂν ἦδη τόνδε, σὺν τύχῃ δέ τῳ·

453 νιν Brunck: μιν codd. 455 μ' add. Hermann ὑπερκόπῃ  
 anon.: ὑπερκόμῃ codd. 457 seclussit H. Wolf 463 βρόμον  
 ex schol. Schütz: τρόπον codd. 465 ἐσχημάτισται m<sub>1</sub>: εἰσημά-  
 τισται M σμικρὸν Robertello: μικρὸν codd. 466 δ' seclussit  
 Blomfield προσαμβάσεις Canter: πρὸς ἀμβάσεις codd. 471 δού-  
 λιον Blomfield: δούλειον codd.

καὶ δὴ πέπεμπται κόμπον ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων,  
 Μεγαρεὺς, Κρέοντος σπέρμα τοῦ σπαρτῶν γένους,  
 ὃς οὔτι μάργων ἱππικῶν φρυαγμάτων 475  
 βρόμον φοβηθεὶς ἐκ πυλῶν χωρήσεται,  
 ἀλλ' ἢ θανῶν τροφεῖα πληρώσει χθονί,  
 ἢ καὶ δὴ ἄνδρε καὶ πόλισμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος  
 ἔλων λαφύροις δῶμα κοσμήσει πατρός.  
 κόμπαζ' ἐπ' ἄλλω, μηδέ μοι φθόνει λόγων. 480

Χο. ἐπεύχομαι τῷδε μὲν εὐτυχεῖν, ἰὼ [στρ. β.  
 πρόμαχ' ἐμῶν δόμων, τοῖσι δὲ δυστυχεῖν.  
 ὥς δ' ὑπέρανχα βάζουσιν ἐπὶ πτόλει  
 μαινομένην φρενί, τῶς νιν  
 Ζεὺς νεμέτωρ ἐπίδοι κοταίνων. 485

Αγ. τέταρτος ἄλλος, γείτονας πύλας ἔχων  
 Ὅγκας Ἀθάνας, ξὺν βοῇ παρίσταται,  
 Ἴππομέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος·  
 ἄλω δὲ πολλήν, ἀσπίδος κύκλον λέγω,  
 ἔφριξα δινήσαντος· οὐκ ἄλλως ἐρῶ. 490  
 ὁ σηματουργὸς δ' οὔ τις εὐτελεῖς ἄρ' ἦν  
 ὅστις τόδ' ἔργον ὥπασεν πρὸς ἀσπίδι,  
 Τυφῶν' ἰέντα πύρπνοον διὰ στόμα  
 λιγνὺν μέλαιναν, αἰόλην πυρὸς κάσιω·  
 ὄφρων δὲ πλεκτάναισι περιδρομον κύτος 495  
 προσηδάφισται κοιλογάστορος κύκλου.  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἐπηλάλαξεν, ἔνθεος δ' Ἄρει  
 βακχῇ πρὸς ἀλκὴν Θυιᾶς ὥς φόνον βλέπων.  
 τοιοῦδε φωτὸς πείραν εὖ φυλακτέον·  
 φόβος γὰρ ἤδη πρὸς πύλαις κομπάζεται. 500

473 πέπεμπται rec. et Erfurdt: πέπεμπτ' οὐ M [οὐ habent codd. cett.] 474 σπαρτῶν recc.: σπαρτοῦ M, ὦν suprascr. m<sub>1</sub> 480 λόγων Valckenarius: λέγων codd. 481 τῷδε rec.: δὴ τὰδε M 483 βάζουσιν recc. duo: βάζουσ' codd. cett. 498 Θυιᾶς rec.: θυᾶς M φόνον Canter: φόβον codd.

Ετ. πρῶτον μὲν Ὅγκα Παλλάς, ἥτ' ἀγχίπολις,  
 πύλαισι γείτων, ἀνδρὸς ἐχθαίρουσ' ὕβριν,  
 εἶρξει νεοσσῶν ὥς δράκοντα δύσχιμον·  
 Ὑπέρβιος δέ, κεδνὸς Οἶνοπος τόκος,  
 ἀνὴρ κατ' ἀνδρα τοῦτον ἡρέθη, θέλων 505  
 ἐξιστορήσαι μοῖραν ἐν χρεῖα τύχης,  
 οὔτ' εἶδος οὔτε θυμὸν οὔθ' ὄπλων σχέσιν  
 μωμητός, Ἑρμῆς δ' εὐλόγως ξυνήγαγεν.  
 ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ξυστήσεται,  
 ξυνοίσετον δὲ πολεμίους ἐπ' ἀσπίδων 510  
 θεούς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πύρπνοον Τυφῶν' ἔχει,  
 Ὑπερβίῳ δὲ Ζεὺς πατὴρ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος  
 σταδαῖος ἦσται, διὰ χερὸς βέλος φλέγων·  
 κοῦπω τις εἶδε Ζῆν' ἀνὰ που νικώμενον.  
 τοιάδε μέντοι προσφίλεια δαιμόνων. 515  
 πρὸς τῶν κρατούντων δ' ἐσμέν, οἱ δ' ἥσσωμένων,  
 εἰ Ζεὺς γε Τυφῶ καρτερώτερος μάχῃ·  
 εἰκὸς δὲ πρᾶξαι κἄνδρας ὧδ' ἀντιστάτας· 519  
 Ὑπερβίῳ τε πρὸς λόγον τοῦ σήματος 518  
 σωτὴρ γένοιτ' ἂν Ζεὺς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τυχών. 520

Χο. πέποιθα <δὴ> τὸν Διὸς ἀντίτυπον ἔχοντ' [ἀντ. β.  
 ἄφιλον ἐν σάκει τοῦ χθονίου δέμας  
 δαίμονος, ἐχθρὸν εἵκασμα βροτοῖς τε καὶ  
 δαροβλοῖσι θεοῖσιν,  
 πρόσθε πυλᾶν κεφαλὰν ἰάψειν. / 525

Αγ. οὕτως γένοιτο. τὸν δὲ πέμπτον αὖ λέγω,  
 πέμπταισι προσταχθέντα Βορραῖαις πύλαις,

501 ἥδ' Weil 507 οὐθ' recc. : οὐδ' M 509 ἀνὴρ Porson : ἀνὴρ  
 codd. 518-9 sic recc. duo et Brunck : ordine inverso codd.  
 cett. δὲ m<sub>1</sub> : γε M πρᾶξαι scripsi : πρᾶξιν M : πρᾶξιν m<sub>1</sub> codd.  
 κἄνδρας Pauw : ἀνδρας codd. 521 δὴ add. Robortello 523 δαί-  
 μονος et βροτοῖς Brunck : δαίμοσιν et βροτοῖσι codd. 524 θεοῖσι  
 codd. 527 Βορραῖαις Porson : βορραῖαις M



τύμβον κατ' αὐτὸν Διογενοῦς Ἀμφίονος·  
 ὄμνυσι δ' αἰχμὴν ἣν ἔχει μᾶλλον θεοῦ  
 σέβειν πεποιθὼς ὁμμάτων θ' ὑπέρτερον, 530  
 ἢ μὴν λαπάξειν ἄστν Καδμείων βίᾳ  
 Διός· τόδ' αὐδ' ἀ μητρὸς ἐξ ὀρεσκόου  
 βλάστημα καλλίπρῳρον, ἀνδρόπαις ἀνὴρ.  
 στείχει δ' Ἴουλος ἄρτι διὰ παρηίδων,  
 ὥρας φυούσης, ταρφὺς ἀντέλλουσα θρίξ. 535  
 ὁ δ' ὠμόν, οὔτι παρθένων ἐπώνυμον,  
 φρόνημα, γοργὸν δ' ὄμμι' ἔχων, προσίσταται.  
 οὐ μὴν ἀκόμπαστός γ' ἐφίσταται πύλαις·  
 τὸ γὰρ πόλεως ὄνειδος ἐν χαλκηλάτῳ  
 σάκει, κυκλωτῷ σώματος προβλήματι, 540  
 Σφίγγ' ὠμόσιτον προσμεμηχανημένην  
 γόμφοις ἐνώμα, λαμπρὸν ἔκκρουστον δέμας,  
 φέρει δ' ὑφ' αὐτῇ φῶτα Καδμείων ἕνα,  
 ὥς πλεῖστ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἰάπτεσθαι βέλη.  
 ἐλθὼν δ' εἰκεν οὐ καπήλεύσειν μάχην, 545  
 μακρὰς κελεύθου δ' οὐ καταισχυνεῖν πόρον,  
 Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκάς· ὁ δὲ τοιόσδ' ἀνὴρ  
 μέτοικος, Ἄργει δ' ἐκτίνων καλὰς τροφάς,  
 πύργοις ἀπειλεῖ τοῖσδ' ἃ μὴ κραίνοι θεός.  
 Εἴ. εἰ γὰρ τύχοιεν ὧν φρονούσι πρὸς θεῶν, 550  
 αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀνοσίλοις κομπάσμασιν·  
 ἢ τὰν πανώλεις παγκάκως τ' ὀλοίατο.  
 ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τῷδ', ὃν λέγεις τὸν Ἀρκάδα,  
 ἀνὴρ ἄκομπος, χεῖρ δ' ὀρᾷ τὸ δράσιμον,  
 Ἄκτωρ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ πάρος λελεγμένου· 555  
 ὃς οὐκ ἔάσει γλῶσσαν ἐργμάτων ἄτερ  
 εἴσω πυλῶν ρέουσιν ἀλδαίνειν κακά,  
 οὐδ' εἰσαμεῖψαι τείχος ἐχθίστου δάκους  
 εἰκὼ φέροντα πολεμίας ἐπ' ἀσπίδος·

ἡ ἕξωθεν εἴσω τῷ φέρουντι μέμψεται, 560  
 πυκνοῦ κροτησμοῦ τυγχάνουσ' ὑπὸ πτόλιν.  
 θεῶν θελόντων καὶ ἀληθεύσαιμ' ἐγώ.

Χο. ἱκνεῖται λόγος διὰ στηθέων, [στρ. γ.  
 τριχὸς δ' ὀρθίας πλόκαμος ἵσταται, ?  
 μεγάλη μεγαληγόρων κλυοῦσα 565  
 ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν. εἶθε γὰρ  
 θεοὶ τοῦσδ' ὀλέσειαν ἐν γᾶ.

Αγ. ἔκτον λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα σωφρονέστατον,  
 ἀλκὴν τ' ἄριστον μάντιν, Ἀμφιάρεω βίαν·  
 Ὅμολωσίην δὲ πρὸς πύλαις τεταγμένος 570  
 κακοῖσι βάζει πολλὰ Τυδέως βίαν·  
 τὸν ἀνδροφόντην, τὸν πόλεως ταρακτορα,  
 μέγιστον Ἄργει τῶν κακῶν διδάσκαλον,  
 Ἐρινύος κλητῆρα, πρόσπολον φόνου,  
 κακῶν τ' Ἀδράστῃ τῶνδε βουλευτήριον. 575  
 καὶ τὸν σὸν αὖθις προσθροῶν ἀδελφεόν,  
 ἔξυπτιάζων ὄμμα, Πολυνείκους βίαν,  
 δῖς τ' ἐν τελευτῇ τοῦνομ' ἐνδατούμενος,  
 καλεῖ. λέγει δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπος διὰ στόμα  
 ἢ τοῖον ἔργον καὶ θεοῖσι προσφιλές, 580  
 καλὸν τ' ἀκοῦσαι καὶ λέγειν μεθυστέροις,  
 πόλιν πατρώαν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς  
 πορθεῖν, στράτευμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβεβληκότα;  
 μητρός τε πηγὴν τίς κατασβέσει δίκη;  
 πατρίς δὲ γαῖα σῆς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς δορὶ 585  
 ἀλοῦσα πῶς σοι ξύμμαχος γενήσεται;  
 ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ τήνδε πιανῶ χθόνα,

560 ἡ ἕξωθεν Porson : ἔξωθεν codd. 562 καὶ Hartung : δ' ἂν M  
 ἀλλ' W. Headlam, qui post θελόντων, non post πτόλιν, interpungit  
 565 κλυοῦσα Hermann : κλύων M 566 εἶθε γὰρ recc. : εἰ θεοὶ M  
 576 προσθροῶν Francken : προσμόραν M : πρόσμορον recc. 577 ὄμμα  
 Schütz : ὄνομα codd.

μάντις κεκευθὼς πολεμίας ὑπὸ χθονός.  
μαχώμεθ', οὐκ ἄτιμον ἐλπίζω μόρον.  
τοιαῦθ' ὁ μάντις ἀσπιδ' εὐκυκλον νέμων  
πάγχαλκον ἠῦδα· σῆμα δ' οὐκ ἐπὴν κύκλω.

590

|| οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει,  
βαθείαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,  
ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλευματα.  
τούτῳ σοφούς τε κάγαθούς ἀντηρέτας  
πέμπειν ἐπαινῶ. δεινὸς ὃς θεοὺς σέβει.

595

Εἴ. φεῦ τοῦ ξυναλλάσσοντος ὄρνιθος βροτοῖς  
δίκαιον ἄνδρα τοῖσι δυσσεβεστάτοις.  
ἐν παντὶ πράγει δ' ἔσθ' ὁμιλίας κακῆς  
κάκιον οὐδέν, καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος·  
ἄτης ἄρουρα θάνατον ἐκκαρπίζεται.  
ἦ γὰρ ξυνεισβάς πλοῖον εὐσεβῆς ἀνὴρ  
ναῦταισι θερμοῖς καὶ πανουργία τινὶ  
ὄλωλεν ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει,  
ἦ ξὺν πολίταις ἀνδράσιν δίκαιος ὦν  
ἐχθροξένοις τε καὶ θεῶν ἀμνήμοσιν,  
ταῦτοῦ κυρήσας ἐκδίκους ἀγρεύματος,  
πληγεῖς θεοῦ μάστιγι παγκοίνῳ δάμῃ.  
οὕτως δ' ὁ μάντις, υἱὸν Οἰκλέους λέγω,  
σώφρων δίκαιος ἀγαθὸς εὐσεβῆς ἀνὴρ,  
μέγας προφήτης, ἀνοσίοισι συμμιγεῖς  
θραυσστόμοισιν ἀνδράσιν βία φρενῶν,  
τείνουσι πομπὴν τὴν μακρὰν πάλιν μολεῖν,  
Διὸς θέλοντος ξυγκαθελκυσθήσεται.  
δοκῶ μὲν οὖν σφε μῆδὲ προσβαλεῖν πύλαις,  
οὐχ ὥς ἄθυμον οὐδὲ λήματος κάκη,

600

605

610

615

588 ὑπὸ recc. duo : ἐπι M : ἐπὶ cett. 590 εὐκυκλον νέμων m et  
recc. : εὐκηλον ἔχων M 591 κύκλω] κύτει Wecklein 597 βροτοῖς  
m<sub>1</sub> et recc. : βροτοῖς M 598 δυσσεβεστάτοις recc. : δυσσεβεστέροις M,  
σ suprascr. m 607 ἐκδίκους Prien : ἐκδίκως codd. 608 δάμῃ G :  
δάμῃ M et cett. 613 πομπὴν] καμπὴν Heimsoeth 616 ἄθυμον  
Turnebus : ἄθυμος codd.

ἀλλ' οἶδεν ὥς σφε χρὴ τελευτῆσαι μάχῃ,  
 εἰ καρπὸς ἔσται θεσφάτοισι Λοξίου·  
 φιλεῖ δὲ σιγᾶν ἢ λέγειν τὰ καίρια.  
 ὅμως δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ φῶτα, Λασθένους βίαν, 620  
 ἐχθρόξενον πυλωρὸν ἀντιτάξομεν,  
 γέροντα τὸν νοῦν, σάρκα δ' ἡβῶσαν φύει,  
 ποδῶκες οἶμα, χεῖρα δ' οὐ βραδύνεται  
 παρ' ἀσπίδος γυμνωθὲν ἀρπάσαι δόρυ.  
 θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς. 625

Χο. κλύοντες θεοὶ δικαίας λιτὰς 630  
 ἡμετέρας τελεῖθ', ὥς πόλις εὐτυχῇ,  
 δορίπωνα κάκ' ἐκτρέποντες <ἐς> γᾶς  
 ἐπιμόλους· πύργων δ' ἔκτοθεν  
 βαλὼν Ζεὺς σφε κάνοι κεραυνῷ.

Αγ. τὸν ἑβδομον δὴ τόν τ' ἐφ' ἐβδόμαις πύλαις  
 λέξω, τὸν αὐτοῦ σου κασίγνητον, πόλει  
 οἷας ἀρᾶται καὶ κατεύχεται τύχας·  
 πύργοις ἐπεμβὰς κάπικηρυχθεὶς χθονί,  
 ἀλώσιμον παιᾶν' ἐπεξιακχάσας, 635  
 σοὶ ξυμφέρεσθαι καὶ κτανὼν θανεῖν πέλας,  
 ἢ ζῶντ' ἀτιμαστήρα τῶς ἀνδρηλατῶν  
 φυγῇ τὸν αὐτὸν τόνδε τίσασθαι τρόπον.  
 τοιαῦτ' αὐτεῖ καὶ θεοὺς γενεθλίους  
 καλεῖ πατρώας γῆς ἑποπτήρας λιτῶν 640  
 τῶν ὧν γενέσθαι πάγχυ Πολυνείκους βία.  
 ἔχει δὲ καινοπηγὸς εὐκυκλον σάκος  
 διπλοῦν τε σῆμα προσμεμηχανημένον.

622 φύει Wellauer : φύσει M : φέρει m<sub>1</sub> recc. 623 οἶμα Weil :  
 ὄμμα codd. 626 λιτὰς M : λόγους m<sub>1</sub> 628 ἐς add. Hermann :  
 om. M, sed εἰς supra ἐπιμόλους scr. m<sub>1</sub> 631 τόν τ' Blomfield :  
 τόνδ' codd. 633 οἷας recc. : οἷας γ' (as in litura. οἷ ex οἷ factum  
 m<sub>1</sub>) M 637 ἀνδρηλατῶν Blomfield : ἀνδρηλάτην codd. 642 εὐ-  
 κυκλον M : εὐθετον schol. (in M)



χρυσήλατον γὰρ ἄνδρα τευχηστήν ἰδεῖν  
ἄγει γυνή τις σωφρόνως ἡγουμένη. 645

Δίκη δ' ἄρ' εἶναί φησιν, ὥς τὰ γράμματα  
λέγει 'κατάξω δ' ἄνδρα τόνδε καὶ πόλιν  
ἔξει πατρώων δωμάτων τ' ἐπιστροφάς.'  
τοιαῦτ' ἐκείνων ἐστὶ τὰ ξευρήματα.

σὺ δ' αὐτὸς ἤδη γυνῶθι τίνα πέμπειν δοκεῖ· 650  
ὥς οὐποτ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδε κηρυκευμάτων  
μέμψει, σὺ δ' αὐτὸς γυνῶθι ναυκληρεῖν πόλιν.

Επ. ὦ θεομανές τε καὶ θεῶν μέγα στύγος,  
ὦ πανδάκρυτον ἄμὸν Οἰδίου γένος· 655  
ὦμοι, πατὴρ δὴ νῦν ἀραὶ τελεσφόροι.

ἀλλ' οὔτε κλαίειν οὔτ' ὀδύρεσθαι πρέπει,  
μὴ καὶ τεκνωθῇ δυσφορώτερος γόος.  
ἐπωνύμῳ δὲ κάρτα, Πολυνείκει λέγω,  
τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα τοῦπίσημ' ὅποι τελεῖ, 660  
εἴ νιν κατάξει χρυσότευκτα γράμματα

ἐπ' ἀσπίδος φλύοντα σὺν φοίτῳ φρενῶν.  
εἰ δ' ἢ Διὸς παῖς παρθένος Δίκη παρῆν  
ἔργοις ἐκείνου καὶ φρεσίν, τάχ' ἂν τόδ' ἦν·  
ἀλλ' οὔτε νιν φυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον, 665  
οὔτ' ἐν τροφαῖσιν, οὔτ' ἐφηβήσαντά πω,

οὔτ' ἐν γενείου ξυλλογῇ τριχώματος,  
Δίκη προσεῖδε καὶ κατηξιώσατο·  
οὐδ' ἐν πατρώας μὴν χθονὸς κακouxία  
οἶμαί νιν αὐτῷ νῦν παραστατεῖν πέλας,  
ἢ δῆτ' ἂν εἴη πανδίκως ψευδώνυμος 670

Δίκη, ξυνοῦσα φωτὶ παντόλμῳ φρένας.  
τούτοις πεποιθὼς εἶμι καὶ ξυστήσομαι  
αὐτός· τίς ἄλλος μᾶλλον ἐνδικώτερος;  
ἄρχοντί τ' ἄρχων καὶ κασιγνήτῳ κάσις,

647 λέγει recc. : λέξει M 658 Πολυνείκει (sed ei in litura) M :  
Πολυνείκη recc. 667 προσεῖδε ex schol. Martini : προσεῖπε codd.  
668 οὐδ' recc. pauci : οὔτ' codd. cett.

ἐχθρὸς σὺν ἐχθρῷ στήσομαι. φέρ' ὥς τάχος 675  
κνημίδας, αἰχμῆς καὶ πέτρων προβλήματα.

Χο. μή, φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, Οἰδίπου τέκος, γένη  
ὄργην ὁμοῖος τῷ κάκιστ' αὐδωμένῳ·  
ἄλλ' ἄνδρας Ἀργείοισι Καδμείους ἄλις 680  
ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· αἷμα γὰρ καθάρσιον.  
ἀνδροῖν δ' ὁμαίμοιν θάνατος ᾧδ' αὐτοκτόνος,  
οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας τοῦδε τοῦ μιάσματος.

Ετ. εἴπερ κακὸν φέροι τις, αἰσχύνης ἄτερ  
ἔστω· μόνον γὰρ κέρδος ἐν τεθνηκόσι  
κακῶν δὲ κᾶσchrῶν οὐτιν' εὐκλείαν ἐρεῖς. 685

Χο. τί μέμονας, τέκνον; μή τί σε θυμοπλη- [στρ. α.  
θῆς δορίμαργος ἄτα φερέτω· κακοῦ δ'  
ἐκβαλ' ἔρωτος ἀρχάν.

Ετ. ἐπεὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κάρτ' ἐπισπέρχει θεός,  
ἴτω κατ' οὖρον κῦμα Κωκυτοῦ λαχόν 690  
Φοῖβφ στυγηθὲν πᾶν τὸ Λαῖον γένος.

Χο. ὠμοδακῆς σ' ἄγαν ἥμερος ἐξοτρύ- [ἀντ. α.  
νει πικρόκαρπον ἀνδροκτασίαν τελεῖν  
αἵματος οὐ θεμιστοῦ.

Ετ. φίλου γὰρ ἐχθρά μοι πατρὸς μέλαιν' ἀρὰ 695  
ξηροῖς ἀκλαύτοις ὄμμασιν προσιζάνει,  
λέγουσα κέρδος πρότερον ὑστέρου μόρου.

Χο. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ 'ποτρύνουν· κακὸς οὐ κεκλή- [στρ. β.  
σει βίον εὖ κυρήσας· μελάναιγίς ἐκ δ'

676 πέτρων mutatum in πετρῶν M 680 χεῖρας recc. : χέρασ M  
684 ἐν (mutatum in ἐν m<sub>1</sub>) M 686 μέμονας (η supra ο scr. m<sub>1</sub>) M  
μήτι recc. aliquot : μήτισ M, recc. cett. 687 δορί μάργοσ (cor-  
rexist m<sub>1</sub>) M 688 ἐκβαλ' (ἐκβαλλ' m<sub>1</sub>) M 693 ἀνδροηλασίαν  
(correxist m<sub>1</sub>) M 695 ἐχθρά recc. : αἰσchrά M μέλαιν' Weil :  
τελεῖ M, τελεία suprascr. m<sub>1</sub> : τελεῖ recc. 696 ἀκλαντος Butler  
699 ἐκ δ' Weil : δ' οὐκ codd.

εἴσι δόμων Ἑρινύς, ὅταν ἐκ χερῶν  
θεοὶ θυσίαν δέχωνται.

700

Ετ. θεοῖς μὲν ἤδη πως παρημελήμεθα,  
χάρις δ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὀλομένων θαυμάζεται·  
τί οὖν ἔτ' ἂν σαίνοιμεν ὀλέθριον μόνον;

Χο. νῦν ὅτε σοι παρέστακεν· ἐπεὶ δαίμων  
λήματος ἐν τροπαίᾳ χρονία μεταλ-  
λακτὸς ἴσως ἂν ἔλθοι θαλερωτέρῳ  
πνεύματι· νῦν δ' ἔτι ζεῖ.

[ἀντ. β.

706

Ετ. ἐξέξεσεν γὰρ Οἰδίπου κατεύγματα·  
ἄγαν δ' ἀληθεῖς ἐνυπνίων φαντασμάτων  
ὄψεις, πατρῶν χρημάτων δατήριοι.

710

Χο. πιθοῦ γυναιξί, καίπερ οὐ στέργων ὅμως.

Ετ. λέγοιτ' ἂν ὦν ἄνη τις· οὐδὲ χρή μακράν.

Χο. μὴ ἄλθης ὁδοὺς σὺ τάσδ' ἐφ' ἐβδόμαις πύλαις.

Ετ. τεθηγμένον τοί μ' οὐκ ἀπαμβλυνεῖς λόγῳ.

715

Χο. νίκην γε μέντοι καὶ κακὴν τιμῇ θεός.

Ετ. οὐκ ἄνδρ' ὀπλίτην τοῦτο χρή στέργειν ἔπος.

Χο. ἀλλ' αὐτάδελφον αἷμα δρέψασθαι θέλεις;

Ετ. θεῶν διδόντων οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγοις κακά.

Χο. πέφρικα τὰν ὠλεσίοικον

[στρ. α.

θεόν, οὐ θεοῖς ὁμοίαν,

721

παναλαθῇ, κακόμαντιν

πατρὸς εὐκταίαν Ἑρινὺν

τελέσαι τὰς περιθύμους

κατάρας Οἰδιπόδα βλαψίφρονος·

725

παιδολέτωρ δ' ἔρις ἅδ' ὀτρύνει.

706 ἐν τροπαίᾳ Aldina : ἀντροπαῖα M, ἀντροπαῖα m 707 θαλε-  
ρωτέρῳ m<sub>1</sub> et recc. : θαλλωτέρῳ fuerat M : fortasse θελεμωτέρῳ Coning-  
ton 709 ἐξέξεσεν recc. : ἐξέξεσαν ut videtur M 711 δωτηρι..  
M, correxit in δοτήριοι m, A suprascr. m<sub>1</sub> 712 πιθοῦ Blom-  
field : πείθου M 713 τίς M (correxit m<sub>1</sub>) 719 ἐκφύγοις M :  
ἐκφύγοι m<sub>1</sub> 725 Οἰδιπόδα βλαψίφρονος Triclinius : βλαψ. Οἰδ. codd.  
726 ἅδ' m<sub>1</sub> et recc. : δ' M

ξένος δὲ κλήρους ἐπινωμᾷ  
 Χάλυβος Σκυθῶν ἄποικος,  
 κτεάνων χρηματοδαίτας  
 πικρός, ὠμόφρων σίδαρος, 730  
 χθόνα ναλεῖν διαπήλας,  
 ὅποσιν καὶ φθιμένοισιν κατέχειν,  
 τῶν μεγάλων πεδίῳ ἀμοίρους.

ἐπειδὴν αὐτοκτόνως 735  
 αὐτοδαίκτοι θάνωσι,  
 καὶ γὰρ κόνις πῆν  
 μελαμπαγὲς αἷμα φοίνιον,  
 τίς ἂν καθαρμὸς πόροι,  
 τίς ἂν σφε λούσειεν; ὦ  
 πόνοι δόμων νέοι παλαι- 740  
 οῖσι συμμιγείς κακοῖς.

παλαιγενῇ γὰρ λέγω 745  
 παρβασίαν ὠκύποινον·  
 αἰῶνα δ' ἐς τρίτον μένει·  
 Ἀπόλλωνος εὔτε Λαῖος  
 βία, τρὶς εἰπόντος ἐν  
 μεσομφάλοις Πυθικοῖς  
 χρηστηρίοις θνάσκοντα γέν-  
 νας ἄτερ σφύζειν πόλιν,

κρατηθεὶς δ' ἐκ φίλων ἀβουλιᾷν ? 751  
 ἐγείνατο μὲν μόρον αὐτῷ,  
 πατροκτόνον Οἰδιπόδαν,  
 ὅστε ματρὸς ἀγνὰν

727 κλήρους olim M : κλήροις recc. et ex correctione M 734 αὐ-  
 τοκτόνως Triclinius : αὐτοκτόνωνσιν M : αὐτοὶ κτάνωσιν m<sub>1</sub> 736 γὰρ  
 ex Hesych. Hermann : χθονία codd. 738 καθαρμὸς recc. :  
 κάθαρμα (μα in rasura m, ὃν suprascr. m<sub>1</sub>) M 743 παρβασίαν  
 Porson : παραβασίαν M 746 βία m : βία M 750 δ' seclisit  
 Pauw ἀβουλιᾷν Dindorf : ἀβουλίαν m 751 ἐγείνατο recc. :  
 γείνατο M



σπείρας ἄρουραν, ἵν' ἐτράφη,  
 ῥίζαν αἱματόεσσαν,  
 ἔτλα· παράνοια συνᾶγε  
 νυμφίους φρενώλεις.

755

κακῶν δ' ὥσπερ θάλασσα κῦμ' ἄγει·  
 τὸ μὲν πίτνον, ἄλλο δ' αἰείρει  
 τρίχαλον, ὃ καὶ περὶ πρύμ-  
 ναν πόλεως καχλάζει.  
 †μεταξὺ δ' ἀλκὰ δι' ὀλίγου  
 τείνει πύργος ἐν εὐρεὶ †.  
 δέδοικα δὲ σὺν βασιλεῦσι  
 μὴ πόλις δαμασθῇ.

[ἀντ. γ.

760

765

τέλειαι γὰρ παλαιφάτων ἀρᾶν  
 βαρεῖαι καταλλαγαί· τὰ δ' ὀλοᾶ  
 πελόμεν' οὐ παρέρχεται.  
 πρόπρυμνα δ' ἐκβολὰν φέρει  
 ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστᾶν  
 ὄλβος ἄγαν παχυνθείς.

[στρ. δ.

770

τίν' ἀνδρῶν γὰρ τοσόνδ' ἐθαύμασαν  
 θεοὶ καὶ ξυνέστιοι πόλεος ὁ  
 πολύβατός τ' ἀγὼν βροτῶν,  
 ὅσον τότε Οἰδίπουν τίον,  
 τὰν ἄρπαξάνδραν  
 κῆρ' ἀφελόντα χώρας;

[ἀντ. δ.

775

756 παράνοια (ut videtur) m: παρανοίαι (i postea adscr.) M 757 φρεν-  
 ὤλης (-eis m<sub>1</sub>) M 762-3 suspecta varie tentantur. Praestat  
 fortasse μεταξὺ δ' οἶδμα δι' ὀλίγου τείνει πύργος ἐρύκειν Weil: sed  
 pro μεταξὺ legas μεσσηγὺν 764 συμβαλεῦσι M (correxit m<sub>1</sub>)  
 766 τελειᾶν Dindorf ἀρᾶν Bothe: ἀραὶ codd. 768 πελόμεν' M:  
 τελόμεν' m<sub>1</sub> et recc. 769 ἐκβολὰν m<sub>1</sub>: ἐκβολῶν M 773 θεοὶ καὶ]  
 ὀθνεῖοι Wecklein πόλεος ὁ Dindorf: πόλεως codd. 774 πολύ-  
 βατός ex schol. Blomfield: πολύβοτός codd. ἀγὼν Weil: αἰὼν codd.  
 776 τὰν ἄρπαξάνδραν Hermann: ἀναρπαξάνδραν codd.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρτίφρων  
 ἐγένετο μέλεος ἀθλίων  
 γάμων, ἐπ' ἄλγει δυσφορῶν  
 μαινομένα κραδίᾳ  
 δίδυμα κάκ' ἐτέλεσεν·  
 πατροφόνῳ χερὶ τῶν  
 κρεισσοτέκνων [δ' ἀπ'] ὀμμάτων ἐπλάγχθη·

[στρ. ε.

780

τέκνοις δ' ἀγρίας  
 ἐφήκεν ἐπικότους τροφᾶς,  
 αἰαῖ, πικρογλώσσους ἀράς,  
 καί σφε σιδαρονόμῳ  
 διὰ χερὶ ποτε λαχεῖν  
 κτήματα· νῦν δὲ τρέω  
 μὴ τελέσῃ καμψίπους Ἑρινύς,

[ἀντ. ε.

786

790

Αγ. θαρσεῖτε, παῖδες μητέρων τεθραμμένοι.  
 πόλις πέφευγεν ἦδε δούλιον ζυγόν·  
 πέπτωκεν ἀνδρῶν ὀβρίμων κομπάσματα·  
 πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδίᾳ τε καὶ κλυδωνίῳ  
 πολλαῖσι πληγαῖς ἄντλον οὐκ ἐδέξατο.  
 στέγει δὲ πύργος, καὶ πύλας φερεγγύοις  
 ἐφραζάμεσθα μονομάχοισι προστάταις·  
 καλῶς ἔχει τὰ πλεῖστ' ἐν ἑξ πυλώμασι·  
 τὰς δ' ἐβδόμας ὁ σεμνὸς ἐβδομαγέτης  
 ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων εἴλετ', Οἰδίπου γένει  
 κραίνων παλαιὰς Λαῖου δυσβουλίας.

795

800

Χο. τί δ' ἔστι πρᾶγμα νεόκοτον πόλει πλέον;

Αγ. πόλις σέσωσται· βασιλέες δ' ὁμόσποροι

804

781 κραδίᾳ Turnebus : καρδίᾳ codd. 784 δ' ἀπ' seclussit Burton  
 (δ' ἀπ' M, δ' rec.) 785 ἀγρίας Francken : ἀραίᾳ codd. 786 ἐπι-  
 κότους] ἐπικότος Heath τροφᾶς rec., Heath : τροφὰς codd. cett.  
 789 διὰ χερὶ Porson : διαχειρίῃ M 793 δούλιον rec. : δούλειον  
 codd. cett. 794 δ' ἀνδρῶν M 799 καλῶς (δ' suprascr. m<sub>1</sub>) M  
 804-13 sic disponit Weil : codicum ordo numeris minoribus indicatur  
 804 βασιλέες recc. : βασιλέως (εἰς suprascr. m<sub>1</sub>) M

Χο. τίνες; τί δ' εἶπας; παραφρονῶ φόβῳ λόγον.	806 805
Αγ. φρονούσα νῦν ἄκουσον· Οἰδίπου τόκῳ—	807
Χο. οἱ γὰρ τάλαινα, μάντις εἰμὶ τῶν κακῶν.	808
Αγ. οὐδ' ἀμφιλέκτως μὴν κατεσποδημένῳ—	809
Χο. ἐκείθι κείσθον; βαρέα δ' οὖν ὅμως φράσον.	810
Αγ. ἄνδρες τεθνᾶσιν ἐκ χερῶν αὐτοκτόνων.	805 810
Χο. αὐτοὺς ἀδελφαῖς χερσὶν ἠναίρονθ' ἅμα;	811
Αγ. πέπωκεν αἷμα γαῖ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φόνῳ.	821
Χο. οὕτως ὁ δαίμων κοινὸς ἦν ἀμφοῖν ἄγαν.	812
Αγ. αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλοῖ δῆτα δύσποτμον γένος.	813
τοιαῦτα χαίρειν καὶ δακρύνεσθαι πάρα·	814 815
πόλιν μὲν εὖ πράσσουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπιστάται,	815
δίσσῳ στρατηγῷ, διέλαχον σφυρηλάτῳ	
Σκύθῃ σιδήρῳ κτημάτων παμπησίαν.	
ἔξουσιν δ' ἦν λάβωσιν ἐν ταφῇ χθόνα,	
πατρὸς κατ' εὐχὰς δυσπότημον φορούμενοι.	820
[πόλις σέσωσται· βασιλείῳ δ' ὁμοσπόρου	820
πέπωκεν αἷμα γαῖ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φόνῳ.]	821

Χο. ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ καὶ πολιούχῳ	
δαίμονες, οἱ δὴ Κάδμου πύργους	
τούσδε ῥύεσθε,	
πότερον χαίρω κάπολολύξῳ	825
πόλεως ἄσινεῖ ἔσωτῆρι . . ,	
ἢ τοὺς μογεροὺς καὶ δυσδαίμονας	
ἀτέκνους κλαύσω πολεμάρχους;	
οἱ δῆτ' ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν	

806 τόκῳ Dindorf: τόκος (γένος suprascr. m) M	808 κατε-
σποδημένῳ Dindorf: κατεσποδημένοι codd.	809 κείσθον (ηλ
suprascr. m) M	810 ἄνδρες Porson: ἄνδρες codd.
Hartung: οὕτως codd.	811 αὐτοὺς
γαῖ mutatum m <sub>1</sub> ) M	812 γὰν (in
810 ἄνδρες Porson: ἄνδρες codd.	819 χθόνα
813 ἄγαν Nauck: ἅμα codd.	[820-1] hic
Bruck: χθονός codd.	820 πορθούμενοι Meineke
820 πορθούμενοι Meineke	[821] supra translatus
habent codd.: [820] prorsus secludendus, [821] supra translatus	822 πολιούχοι Pauw: πολιισσοῦχοι codd.
822 πολιούχοι Pauw: πολιισσοῦχοι codd.	823-4 δαίμονες οἱ δὴ
Κάδμου πύργους ῥύεσθε (τούσδε secluso) Heimsoeth	826 deest u -

καὶ πολυνεικεῖς 830  
ῶλοντ' ἄσεβει διανοίᾳ.

ὦ μέλαινα καὶ τελεία [στρ. α.  
γένεος Οἰδίπου τ' ἀρά,  
κακὸν με καρδίαν τι περιπίτνει κρύος.  
ἔτευξα τύμβῳ μέλος 835  
Θυιᾶς ὥς, αἰμοस्ताγείς  
νεκροὺς κλύουσα δυσμόρως  
θανόντας· ἦ δύσορνις ἄ-  
δε ξυναυλία δορός.

ἔξέπραξεν, οὐδ' ἀπεῖπεν [ἀντ. α.  
πατρόθεν εὐκταία φάτις· 841  
βουλαὶ δ' ἄπιστοι Λαῖου διήρκεσαν.  
μέριμνα δ' ἀμφὶ πτόλιν·  
θέσφατ' οὐκ ἀμβλύνεται.  
ἰὼ πολύστονοι, τόδ' εἰρ- 845  
γάσασθ' ἄπιστον· ἦλθε δ' αἰ-  
ακτὰ πῆματ' οὐ λόγῳ.

τάδ' αὐτόδηλα, προὔπτος ἀγγέλου λόγος·  
διπλαῖ μέριμναι, διδυμάνορα  
κάκ' αὐτοφόνα, δίμοιρα τέ- 850  
λεια τάδε πάθη. τί φῶ;—  
τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ πόνοι πόνων  
δόμων ἐφέστιοι;—  
ἀλλὰ γόων, ὦ φίλαι, κατ' οὔρον  
ἐρέσσετ' ἀμφὶ κρατὶ πόμπιμον χεροῖν 855  
πίτυλον, ὃς αἶεν δι' Ἀχέροντ' ἀμείβεται,

830 lacunam ante καὶ suspicantur edd. fortasse iniuria 834 καρ-  
δίαν recc. : καρδίᾳ M 836 ὥς, αἰμοस्ताγείς ex schol. et rec. Heim-  
soeth : αἰματοσταγείς codd. cett. 837 δυσμόρως schol. et recc. :  
δυσφόρως M 848-860 fortasse inter duo choreutas distribuendi  
(Wecklein) 848 προὔπτος (οὐπ in rasura m<sub>1</sub>) M 849 διδυ-  
μάνορα recc. aliquot : διδυμ' ἀνορέα M 854 γόων recc. : γόνον M



μελάγκροκον ναῦν ἄστολον [ναύστολον] θεωρίδα,  
τὰν ἀστιβῆ ᾽πόλλωνι, τὰν ἀνάλιον,  
πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῇ τε χέρσον.

860

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤκουσ' αἰδ' ἐπὶ πρᾶγος  
πικρὸν Ἀντιγόνῃ τ' ἠδ' Ἰσμήνῃ,  
θρήνον ἀδελφοῖν· οὐκ ἀμφιβόλως  
οἶμαί σφ' ἐρατῶν ἐκ βαθυκόλπων  
στηθέων ἦσειν ἄλγος ἐπάξιον.

865

ἡμᾶς δὲ δίκη πρότερον φήμης  
〈τῶνδε κλυούσας〉  
τὸν δυσκέλαδόν θ' ὕμνον Ἐρινύος  
ἀχεῖν Ἀίδα τ'

ἐχθρὸν παιᾶν' ἐπιμέλπειν.

870

ἰώ. δυσαδελφόταται πασῶν ὀπόσαι  
στρόφον ἐσθήσιν περιβάλλονται,  
κλαίω, στένομαι, καὶ δόλος οὐδεὶς  
μὴ 'κ φρενὸς ὀρθῶς με λιγαίνειν.

〈Αν.〉 ἰὼ ἰὼ δύσφρονες,

[στρ. α.

φίλων ἄπιστοι καὶ κακῶν ἀτρίμνες,  
δόμους πατρώους ἐλόν-  
τες μέλεοι σὺν αἰχμᾷ.

876

Χο. μέλεοι δῆθ' οἱ μελέους θανάτους  
ἠῦροντο δόμων ἐπὶ λύμῃ.

880

〈Ισ.〉 ἰὼ ἰὼ δωμάτων

[ἀντ. α.

ἐρειψίτοιχαι καὶ πικρὰς μοναρχίας

857 ναῦν scripsi, ἄστολον e rec. et schol. Stanley : τὰν ἄστονον (ante μελάγκροκον) M codd. cett. ναύστολον seclutit Stanley 867 τῶνδε κλυούσας ex schol. addidi (ἐπακουσάσας Weil) 869 ἀχεῖν (Elmsleio auctore) Lachmann : ἰαχεῖν codd. 875-945 personarum notas Ἄν. et Ἰσ. add. Bergk : in codd. aut desunt aut non recte disponuntur 877 δόμους πατρώους Schütz : πατρώους δόμους codd. 878 ἀλκᾶ M, γρ. αἰχμᾶ m 882 ἐρειψίτοιχοι recce. : ἐρριψίταχοι (α mut. in οι m<sub>1</sub>) M

ἰδόντες, ἤδη διήλ-  
λαχθε σὺν σιδάρφ.

885

Χο. κάρτα δ' ἀληθῇ πατρὸς Οἰδιπόδα  
πότνι' Ἐριῦς ἐπέκραεν.

(Αν.) δι' εὐωνύμων τετυμμένοι,

[στρ. β.]

τετυμμένοι δῆθ',

όμοσπλάγχνων τε πλευρωμάτων

890

. . . . .

αἰαῖ δαιμόνιοι,

αἰαῖ δ' ἀντιφόνων

<δῆ> θανάτων ἀραί.

Χο. διανταίαν λέγεις [πλαγὰν] δόμοισι καὶ

895

σώμασιν πεπλαγμένους, [ἐννέπω]

ἀνανδάτῳ μένει

ἀραίῳ τ' ἐκ πατρὸς

<οὐ> διχόφρονι πότμῳ.

(Ιστ.) διήκει δὲ καὶ πόλιν στόνος,

[ἀντ. β.]

στένουσι πύργοι,

901

στένει πέδον φίλανδρον· μενεῖ

κτέανα τὰδ' ἐπιγόνους,

δι' ὧν αἰγομόροις,

δι' ὧν νεῖκος ἔβα

905

καὶ θανάτου τέλος.

Χο. ἐμοιράσαντο δ' ὄξυκάρδιοι

κτήμαθ', ὥστ' ἴσον λαχεῖν.

διαλλακτῆρι δ' οὐκ

post 885 οὐκέτ' ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ φόνῳ διεκρίθητε M, quod scholium  
in text. illatum eiecit Triclinius 891 lacunam indicavit Lachmann

894 δῆ add. Weil

895 πλαγὰν seclisit Elmsley

896 ἐννέπω

seclisit Elmsley

899 οὐ add. Wecklein

903 τὰδ' Weil : τ'

codd.

ἀμεμφεία φίλοις,  
οὐδ' ἐπίχαρις Ἄρης.

910

(Αν.) σιδαρόπλακτοι μὲν ὧδ' ἔχουσιν  
σιδαρόπλακτοι δὲ τοὺς μένουσι,  
τάχ' ἂν τις εἴποι, τίνες;  
τάφων πατρώων λαχαί.

[στρ. γ.

Χο. δόμων μάλ' ἀχάεσσ' ἰὰ τοὺς  
προπέμπει δαϊκτῆρ γόος αὐ-  
τόστονος, αὐτοπήμων,  
δαϊόφρων, οὐ φιλογαθής, ἐτύμως  
δακρυχέων ἐκ φρενός, ἃ  
κλαιομένας μου μινύθει  
τοῖνδε δυοῖν ἀνάκτιν.

915

(Ισ.) πάρεστι δ' εἰπεῖν ἐπ' ἀθλίοισιν  
ὥς ἐρξάτην πολλὰ μὲν πολίτας,  
ξένων τε πάντων στίχας  
πολυφθόρους ἐν δαί.

[ἀντ. γ.

925

Χο. <ἰῶ> δυσαίων σφ' ἃ τεκούσα  
πρὸ πασᾶν γυναικῶν ὀπόσαι  
τεκνογόνοι κέκληνται.  
παῖδα τὸν αὐτὰς πόσιν αὐτᾶ θεμένα  
τούσδ' ἔτεχ', οἱ δ' ὧδ' ἐτελεύ-  
τασαν ὑπ' ἀλλαλοφόνοις  
χερσὶν ὁμοσπόροισιν.

930

909 ἀμεμφεία Herimann: ἀμεμφία codd. 911-2 σιδηρόπληκτοι  
M (bis) 915 ἀχάεσσ' ἰὰ Weil: ἀχάεσσα M 918 δαϊόφρων  
Blomfield: δαῖφρων δ' codd. 919 ἐκ G: δ' ἐκ codd. cett  
921 δυοῖν rec.: διοῖν M 923 πολίτας rec.: πολίταις codd. cett.  
924 τ' ἐπακτῶν Meineke 926 <ἰῶ> δυσαίων Dindorf: δυσδαίμων  
codd. σφ' H. Voss: σφιν codd. 927 προπασῶν (ἀν mut. in  
ὦν m) M

(Αν.) ὁμόςποροι δῆτα καὶ πανώλεθροι, [στρ. δ.  
διατομαῖς ἀφίλοις,  
ἔριδι μαινομένα, 935  
νεΐκεος ἐν τελευτᾷ.

Χο. πέπανται δ' ἔχθος, ἐν δὲ γαίᾳ  
ζῷα φονορῦτῳ  
μέμικται· κάρτα δ' εἶς' ὄμαιμοι.  
πικρὸς λυτῆρ νεικέων ὁ πόντιος 940  
ξεῖνος ἐκ πυρὸς συθεῖς  
θηκτὸς σίδαρος· πικρὸς δὲ χρημάτων  
κακὸς δατητὰς Ἀρης ἀρὰν πατρώ-  
αν τιθεὶς ἀλαθῇ.

(Ισ.) ἔχουσι μοῖραν λαχόντες, ὦ μέλεσι, [ἀντ. δ.  
διοδότην ἀχέων· 946  
ὑπὸ δὲ σώματι γᾶς  
πλοῦτος ἄβυσσος ἔσται.

Χο. ἰὼ πολλοῖς ἐπανθίσαντες  
πόντοισι γενεάν· 950  
τελευταῖαι δ' ἐπηλάλαξαν  
Ἀραὶ τὸν ὄξυν νόμον, τετραμμένον  
παντρόπῳ φυγᾷ γένους.  
ἔστακε δ' Ἀτας τροπαῖον ἐν πύλαις,  
ἐν αἷς ἐθείνοντο, καὶ δυοῖν κρατή- 955  
σας ἔληξε δαίμων.

Αν. παισθεὶς ἐπαισας.

Ισ. σὺ δ' ἔθανες κατακτανών.

933 ὁμόςποροι . . . πανωλέθροι (auctore Meinekio) Wecklein  
934 ἀφίλοις H. Voss: οὐ φίλοις codd. 938 φονορῦτῳ Seidler:  
φονορῦτῳ vel -ω codd. 943 πατρώαν Bothe: πατρὸς codd.  
945 ὦ recc.: om. M 946 διοδότην Bothe: διοςδότων codd.  
949 ἐπανθίσαντες Bothe: ἐπανθήσαντες codd. 951 τελευταῖαι δ'  
Hermann: τελευτᾷ δ' αἰδ' M

Αν. δορὶ δ' ἔκανες

Ισ. δορὶ δ' ἔθανες

Αν. μελεόπονος.

960

Ισ. μελεοπαθής.

Αν. ἴτω γόος.

Ισ. ἴτω δάκρυ.

Αν. πρόκεισαι

Ισ. κατακτάς.

965

Αν. ἡέ. Ισ. ἡέ.

[στρ. α.

Αν. μαίνεται γόοισι φρήν.

Ισ. ἐν δὲ καρδία στένει.

Αν. ἰὼ ἰὼ πάνδυρτε σύ.

Ισ. σὺ δ' αὖτε καὶ πανάθλιε.

970

Αν. πρὸς φίλου [γ'] ἔφθισο.

Ισ. καὶ φίλον ἔκτανες.

Αν. διπλᾷ λέγειν.

Ισ. διπλᾷ δ' ὀρᾷν.

Αν. ἄχρα δοιὰ τάδ' ἐγγύθεν.

975

Ισ. πέλας ἀδελφέ' ἀδελφεῶν.

Χο. ἰὼ Μοῖρα βαρυδότειρα μογερά,

πότνιά τ' Οἰδίπου σκιά·

μέλαιν' Ἐρινύς, ἣ μεγασθενής τις εἶ.

Αν. ἡέ. Ισ. ἡέ.

[ἀντ. α.

Αν. δυσθέατα πῆματα

981

Ισ. <τόνδ'> ἐδέξατ' ἐκ φυγᾶς [ἐμοί].

958 ἔκανες Hermann : ἔκτανες codd.

963 δάκρυ Lachmann :

δάκρυα codd.

964 πρόκεισαι Hermann : προκίεσεται codd.

966 ἡέ

ἡέ μαίνεται . . . φρήν M

968 ἐν Burney : ἐντὸς codd.

969 πάν-

δυρτε Ritschl : πανδάκρυτε M recc.

971 γ' seclisut Bothe

975 ἄχρα δοιὰ Hermann : ἄχρων τοίων codd.

976 ἀδελφέ' Heim-

soeth : δ' αἰδ' ἀδελφαι codd.

979 et 993 μέλαιν' Porson : μέλαινά

τ' codd.

980 ἡέ ἡέ . . . πῆματα M

982 <τόνδ'> ἐδέξατ' Weil :

ἐδείξατ' codd.

ἐμοί seclisut Robortello



Αν. οὐδ' ἴκεθ' ὥς κατέκτανεν.

Ισ. σωθεῖς δὲ πνεῦμ' ἀπώλεσεν.

Αν. ὤλεσε δῆτ' ἄγαν).

985

Ισ. καὶ τὸν ἐνόσφισεν.

Αν. τάλαν γένος.

Ισ. τάλαν πάθος.

Αν. δίπωνα κήδε' ὁμαιμόνων.

Ισ. διέρ' ἐπάλμενα πῆματα.

990

Χο. ἰὼ Μοῖρα βαρυδότειρα μυγερὰ,

πότνιά τ' Οἰδίπου σκιά·

μέλαιν' Ἐριγύς, ἧ μεγασθενής τις εἶ.

Αν. σὺ τοί νιν οἶσθα διαπερῶν,

Ισ. σὺ δ' οὐδὲν ὕστερος μαθῶν,

995

Αν. ἐπεὶ κατῆλθες ἐς πόλιν,

Ισ. δορός γε τῷδ' ἀντηρέτας.

Αν. ὀλοὰ λέγειν.

Ισ. ὀλοὰ δ' ὄρᾶν.

Αν. ἰὼ πόνος,

1000

Ισ. ἰὼ κακά,

Αν. δώμασι καὶ χθονί, [πρὸ πάντων δ' ἐμοί].

Ισ. καὶ τὸ πρόσω γ' ἐμοί·

Αν. ἰώ, δύστανε τῶν κακῶν ἄναξ.

Ισ. ἰὼ πάντων πολυστονώτατε.

1005

Αν. ἰώ, ποῦ σφε θήσομεν χθονός;

985 ὤλεσε Wellauer : ἀπώλεσεν M, -ε recc. δῆτ' ἄγαν Weil :  
 986 τὸν Halm : τόνδ' codd. 988 τάλαν πάθος  
 989 δίπωνα  
 Schütz : τάλανα καὶ παθόν M : τάλαν καὶ πάθος rec. δόμοι  
 Hermann : δύστονα codd. ὁμαιμόνων scripsi (ὁμαίμονα Weil) : δώ-  
 νυμα codd. 990 διέρ' (διερὰ Heimsoeth), ἐπάλμενα ex schol.  
 scripsi : δίνυγα τριπάλτων codd. πῆματα ex schol. Weil : πημάτων  
 codd. Post 990 ὀλοὰ λέγειν. ὀλοὰ δ' ὄρᾶν (errore e 998-9 illata)  
 M, seclussit Triclinius 991 ἰὼ om. M 994 νιν rec. : νυν codd.  
 cett. 1001 ἰὼ recc. : ἰὼ ἰὼ M 1002 πρὸ πάντων δ' ἐμοί seclussit  
 C. G. Haupt 1004 δύστανε τῶν Wecklein : ἰὼ δυστάνων codd.  
 1005 πολυστονώτατε (duce Robertello) Weil : πολυπονώτατοι codd.  
 1006 alterum ἰὼ adscr. m

Ισ. ἰώ, ἔνθα τιμιώτατον.

Αν. ἰὼ δαιμονῶντες ἐν ἅτα.

Ισ. ἰὼ πῆμα πατρὶ πάρευνον.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντ' ἀπαγγέλλειν με χρῆ 1010

δήμου προβούλοις τῆσδε Καδμείας πόλεως·

Ἐτεοκλέα μὲν τόνδ' ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ χθονὸς

θάπτειν ἔδοξε γῆς φίλαις κατασκαφαῖς·

στέγων γὰρ ἐχθροὺς θάνατον εἶλετ' ἐν πόλει,

ιερῶν πατρώων δ' ὅσιος ὦν μομφῆς ἄτερ 1015

τέθνηκεν οὐπὲρ τοῖς νέοις θνήσκειν καλόν.

οὕτω μὲν ἀμφὶ τοῦδ' ἐπέσταλται λέγειν·

τούτου δ' ἀδελφὸν τόνδε Πολυνείκους νεκρὸν

ἔξω βαλεῖν ἄθαπτον, ἀρπαγὴν κυσίν,

ὥς οὐτ' ἀναστατήρα Καδμείων χθονός, 1020

εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις ἐμποδὼν ἔστη δορὶ

τῷ τοῦδ'. ἄγος δὲ καὶ θανὼν κεκτήσεται

θεῶν πατρώων, οὓς ἀτιμάσας ὅδε

στράτευμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβαλὼν ἦρει πόλιν.

οὕτω πετηνῶν τόνδ' ὑπ' οἰωνῶν δοκεῖ 1025

ταφέντ' ἀτίμως τοῦπιτίμιον λαβεῖν,

καὶ μήθ' ὁμαρτεῖν τυμβοχόᾳ χειρώματα

μήτ' ὀξύμόλποισ προσσέβειν οἰμώγμασιν,

ἄτιμον εἶναι δ' ἐκφορᾶς φίλων ὑπο.

τοιαῦτ' ἔδοξε τῷδε Καδμείων τέλει. 1030

Αν. ἐγὼ δὲ Καδμείων γε προστάταις λέγω·

ἦν μή τις ἄλλος τόνδε συνθάπτειν θέλῃ,

ἐγὼ σφε θάψω κἀνὰ κίνδυνον βαλῶ

θάψας ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐμόν, οὐδ' αἰσχύνομαι

ἔχουσ' ἄπιστον τήνδ' ἀναρχίαν πόλει. 1035

1007 ἔνθα scripsi: ὅπου codd. 1008 hunc v. in codd. post 1005  
positum huc transtulit C. G. Haupt 1012 εὐνοίᾳ recc.: εὐναίᾳ M

1014 στέγων e glossa Wakefield: στυγῶν codd.

1030 ἔδοξεν M

1032 θέλῃ recc.: θέλοι M

# ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ

δεινὸν τὸ κοινὸν σπλάγχνον, οὗ πεφύκαμεν,  
μητρὸς ταλαίνης καπὸ δυστήνου πατρός.

τοιγὰρ θέλουσ' ἄκουτι κοινῶναι κακῶν  
ψυχῇ, θανόντι ζῶσα συγγόνῳ φρενί.

τούτου δὲ σάρκας οὐδὲ κοιλογάστορες  
λύκοι πάσονται· μὴ δοκησάτω τινί.

1040

τάφον γὰρ αὐτὴ καὶ κατασκαφὰς ἐγώ,  
γυνή περ οὔσα, τῷδε μηχανήσομαι,  
κόλπῳ φέρουσα βυσσίνου πεπλώματος.

καὐτὴ καλύψω, μηδὲ τῷ δόξῃ πάλιν·

1045

θάρσει, παρέσται μηχανὴ δραστήριος.

Κη. αὐδῶ πόλιν σε μὴ βιάζεσθαι τάδε.

Αν. αὐδῶ σε μὴ περισσὰ κηρύσσειν ἐμοί.

Κη. τραχύς γε μέντοι δῆμος ἐκφυγὼν κακά.

Αν. τράχυν'· ἄθαπτος δ' οὗτος οὐ γενήσεται.

1050

Κη. ἀλλ' ὅν πόλις στυγεῖ, σὺ τιμήσεις τάφῳ;

Αν. ἤδη τὰ τοῦδε διατετίμῃται θεοῖς.

Κη. οὔ, πρίν γε χώραν τήνδε κινδύνῳ βαλεῖν.

Αν. παθὼν κακῶς κακοῖσιν ἀντημείβετο.

Κη. ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντας ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τόδ' ἔργον ἦν.

1055

Αν. ἔρις περαίνει μῦθον ὑστάτη θεῶν.

ἐγὼ δὲ θάψω τόνδε· μὴ μακρηγόρει.

Κη. ἀλλ' αὐτόβουλος ἴσθ', ἀπεννέπω δ' ἐγώ.

Χο. φεῦ φεῦ.

ὦ μέγαλαυχοι καὶ φθερσιγενεῖς

Κῆρες Ἑρινύες, αἵτ' Οἰδιπόδα

1060

γένος ὠλέσατε πρυμνόθεν οὕτως,

τί πάθω; τί δὲ δρῶ; τί δὲ μήσωμαι;

πῶς τολμήσω μήτε σὲ κλαίειν

1038 κακῶν recc. : κακο. (correctum in κακῷ m) M

1040 τούτῳ M

1041 πάσονται (fuerat σπάσονται) M : σπάσονται recc.

1042 αὐτὴ

Pierson : αὐτῷ codd. (αὐτῶ M)

1052 τοῦδε ex schol. Paley : τοῦδ'

οὐ codd.

1062 δὲ δρῶ; recc. : δ' ἐρῶ M

- μήτε προπέμπειν ἐπὶ τύμβον;  
 ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι κάποτρέπομαι  
 δεῖμα πολιτῶν. 1065
- σύ γε μὴν πολλῶν πενθητήρων  
 τεύξει· κείνος δ' ὁ τάλας ἄγους  
 μονόκλαυτον ἔχων θρήνον ἀδελφῆς  
 εἴσιν· τίς ἂν οὖν τὰ πίθοιτο; 1070
- Ημ. δράτῳ <τι> πόλις καὶ μὴ δράτῳ  
 τοὺς κλαίοντας Πολυνείκη.  
 ἡμεῖς μὲν ἴμεν καὶ συνθάψομεν  
 αἶδε προπομποί.  
 καὶ γὰρ γενεᾷ κοινὸν τόδ' ἄχος, 1075  
 καὶ πόλις ἄλλως  
 ἄλλοτ' ἐπαινεῖ τὰ δίκαια.
- Ημ. ἡμεῖς δ' ἅμα τῷδ', ὥσπερ τε πόλις  
 καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ξυνεπαινεῖ.  
 μετὰ γὰρ μάκαρας καὶ Διὸς ἰσχὺν 1080  
 ὅδε Καδμείων ἥρυξε πόλιν  
 μὴ 'νατραπήναι μηδ' ἄλλοδαπῶν  
 κύματι φωτῶν  
 κατακλυσθῆναι τὰ μάλιστα.

1064 τύμβον recc. aliquot: τύμβω M codd. cett. 1069 θρήνον  
 recc.: θρήνος M 1070 πίθοιτο recc. pauci: πείθοιτο M cett.  
 1071 τι add. anon.: τε add. Canter post 1084 in M subscriptum:  
 αἰσχύλου ζ ἐπιθήβας τέλοσ

# NOTES.





## NOTES

[*The Kadmeia, or fortress of Thebes: the citizens enter and form a group: last comes Eteokles, who addresses them (see note on line 1): the time is the early morning.*]

[Lines 1-77. PROLOGUE. Eteokles the king urges the need of effort and vigilance in the hour of danger: each must do his part: the attack is coming, as omens show; spies have been sent forth, and will return shortly. At that moment enter a scout, who reports that seven captains, sworn to destroy the city, are even now casting lots for their posts at the seven gates: the whole Argive army is moving on; he bids the king send forth champions and troops to meet them. Eteokles prays to Zeus, Earth, Erinyes, and the guardian gods; and he and the citizens depart.]

1-3. Kadmos was the mythical founder and king of the fortress Kadmeia, afterwards the citadel of Thebes. 'He should speak fit words who guards the fortunes of the state, wielding the helm at her stern, closing not his eyes in sleep,' i. e. the good watchful ruler should give wise orders. The 'ship of state' is one of the commonest metaphors, e. g. O. T. 23, Ant. 163. The μή is due to the *generic* form of the sentence (ὅστις), though of course Eteokles is thinking of himself.

4. 'For should we fare well, 'twere due to the god.' The optatives mark a certain delicacy in speaking of the future on which so much hangs.

6. πολὺς ἂν ὑμνοῖτο, &c., 'would be on all men's tongues throughout the city, canvassed with threatening murmurs.' πολὺς idiomatically used in this predicative way: πολὺς ρεῖν of rivers, or metaphorically, Eur. Hipp. 443; Dem. 272. 22; πολὺς πνεῖν of winds, Dem. 787. 22; πολὺς ἐλθεῖν, &c.

εἰς common in antithesis to πολὺς, omitted in English: πλείστας ἀνὴρ εἰς ἔγχευε, Trach. 460; πλείστα εἰς ἀνὴρ δυνάμενος, Thuc. 8. 68.

8. 'Whereof may Zeus the Averter be true to his name,' i. e. be really the Averter, the gen. ὧν being governed by the real sense. So 405.

10-2. The general sense is plain: he calls on all to help, the young and old as well as those of military age. Taking the text as I have given it, I translate: 'And now 'tis for you, both him

who yet fails short of his prime, and him who past his youth yet cherishes might of limb, and each man of full age, as is fitting, to help,' &c. The difficulty is that line 12 has a word of suspicious form βλαστημόν (βλάστημον M) and also seems to emphasize the *strength* of the old men too much. Some therefore (H. Stephanus, Weil, Hartung, &c.) read βλάστημά τ' ἀλδαίνοντα σώματος πολύ, 'and him who cherishes much strength of body,' i.e. the man of full age. But this is very harsh without τόν or ἕκαστον.

Those who so read 12 have to take 13 also in a different way. Some read ὦραν ἔχονθ' (the reading of m, and noticed in scholia), 'taking care,' 'keeping watch': not very natural. [Others keep ὦραν and translate 'each according to the fitness of his age' (also following a scholion), but ὦρα must be *manhood, vigour, prime*.] On the whole I prefer to take it as above, following Paley and others.

13. ὥστε συμπρεπής, 'as befits,' means 'according to his strength,' the man of full age is specially bound, as he is strong, to help.

[W. Headlam ingeniously suggests that 12 is 'an illustrative quotation,' i.e. a line of some poet written at the side as a parallel passage, and so (as is liable to happen) copied into the text. He accordingly omits it, and puts a comma at ἕκαστον, retaining ὥς τι of M. The sense would then be good: 'And now 'tis for you, both young and old, each in the office that befits his age,' &c. But it is difficult to see why the line was quoted, or what help it gives to understanding the passage.]

15. τιμὰς μὴ ἔξαλειφθῆναι, 'that their worship be not done away,' consecutive (epexegetic) infin., practically giving the purpose as it often does with ὥστε.

17. ἡ γάρ, 'for she,' Epic use of ἡ demonst. So τῆς γάρ, O. T. 1082. ἔρποντας, probably 'moving,' not 'creeping,' a sense which it hardly ever has.

18. πανδοκοῦσα, not merely *receiving* (schol.) but '*welcoming* all the trouble of your rearing': a bold and beautiful expression. The word does not occur elsewhere in Attic, but it is naturally formed from πάνδοκος (an Aeschylean word), and is transitive like φιλέω, καταδοκέω, and many others.

19-20. As it stands this passage can only mean 'reared you to be warrior citizens, ever faithful, that ye might show yourselves [such] at this time of need,' where πιστοί is harshly attracted to agree with the accusatives.

Verrall takes γένοισθε 'that ye might be created against this need,' but that is hardly an improvement. Weil suggests πιστοί ποθ' ὥς, which mends the fault simply. If it had to be altered I would suggest πιστοί θ' ὅπως, where 'and' is justified by the fact that οἰκητήρας ἀσπιδηφόρους is really proleptic *reared you to be*, and so practically contains a purpose: or perhaps πλείους (Murray), which makes fair sense. But the text is doubtful.

M reads οἰκιστήρας, properly 'founders,' understood by some

as a stately word for 'defenders,' 'establishers,' but the simple *οἰκητήρας* found in three later MSS. is probably right.

21. εὖ ῥίπει, 'well inclines' the scale : i. e. 'prosper our cause.' Aeschylus uses ῥέπω trans. Supp. 405. So ἐπιρρέπω, καταρρέπω.

25. νωμῶν, 'watching,' 'studying with ear and heart' : a metaphorical use derived from νωμάω, 'to ply,' 'to handle.' So in Homer, ἐνὶ φρεσὶ κέρδε' ἐνώμας, Od. 18. 216; ὃ πάντα νωμῶν Τειρεσία, 'pondering,' or 'understanding,' O. T. 300.

πυρὸς δίχα, 'without fire,' the other mode of augury, by inspection of the victim on the altar. In Antig. 1000 sqq. we have full description of both.

28. M reads κάπιβουλεύσειν : recent MSS. alter to -εύειν, adopted by Blomf., Hart., Weil, Pal., &c. : but as νυκτηγορεῖσθαι is passive the correction κάπιβούλευσιν (quite as near M) is far better. 'Says that the Achaians' great assault and plot against our city is this night planned,' i. e. this *past* night, as we are told (42 sqq.) that it is already afoot.

νυκτηγορεῖν is 'to proclaim by night,' Eur. Rhes. 88.

30. No need to alter πύλας πυργωμάτων, as some propose. The men were to guard some the battlements, others the gates.

31. σοῦσθε, 'speed.' Old form, from stem συ-. Aesch. uses σοῦνται, Pers. 25, and σοῦ, σοῦσθε are found in Ar. Vesp.

32. θωρακεία, 'the breast-work' or 'parapet,' like Latin *lorica*. σίλματα, prop. 'benches' or 'seats,' here 'floor,' 'planks.'

35. τελεῖ : schol. takes it pres. ; but it is better as fut.

37. μὴ ματᾶν : ματάω is Homeric : 'be vain,' 'fail,' 'falter' : usually with a neg. as here ; so οὐδ' ἐμάτησεν, Il. 16. 474, 23. 510 ; so Prom. 57 τοῦργον οὐ ματᾶ, 'prosper,' and similarly Eum. 142. Sense : 'I am sure they will not fail,' i. e. will promptly return with news. Some take ματᾶν fut., but it is not necessary with verbs of *confidence*, as aorist or present inf. can be used. So Pers. 173 ἴσθι μὴ σε δὲ φράσαι, and below 427, Prom. 667. In this usage also μὴ is often preferred to οὐ : Thuc. 1. 76 ἴσμεν μὴ ἂν γενομένους.

38. οὐ τι μὴ ληφθῶ, 'I shall nowise be taken.' The construction is really the negative form of the simple use of μὴ and subj. to express *misgiving*. It is common ; and occurs below 282.

[The people disperse : enter a Messenger in haste.]

40. σαφῇ, really predicative, lit. 'I bring from the army the news from thence *true*' : we should say more simply, 'Trusty news I bring from the host.' Cf. Soph. O. Kol. 623 Φοῖβος σαφής.

41. Notice δέ deferred, as Aeschylus often does with δέ and γάρ when the phrase is closely connected : πεζὸς ἡ ναῦτης δέ, Pers. 719 ; θνητὸς ὦν θεῶν δέ, ib. 749 ; βροτοὺς θρασύνει γάρ, Ag. 222 ; θεὸς θεῶν γάρ, Prom. 29 ; and below 199, 699.

43. μελάνδετον, 'black-bound,' of a shield rimmed with a black band of iron (or leather). It is used in Hom. Il. 15. 713 of *swords*, and means 'bound with black bands' (of iron or leather) round the



handle. So Eur. Phoen. 1091. Euripides once uses the word metaphorically, *μελάνδετον φόνω ξίφος*, Or. 821, 'black-banded with slaughter,' black and rusted with blood, and one schol. so understands it here; but without *φόνω* such a meaning is impossible.

45. \**Ἀρη τ'* (M and others) will stand, though the omission of copula with \**Ἐννώ* is a rare usage. Other commentators prefer Turn.'s reading \**Ἀρην*, \**Ἐννώ* (followed by Pors., Well., Weil, &c.).

Dindorf compares *οὔτε βρώσιμον οὐ χριστὸν οὔτε πιστόν*, Prom. 480.

*φιλαίματον Φόβον*, 'blood-thirsty Rout,' a fine phrase briefly and forcibly suggesting the hewing down of an army in flight. *Φόβος* in its Homeric sense of 'Flight.' Later MSS. give *φόνος*: the old cursive *β* (written like English *u*) is commonly confused with *ν*.

48. Some prefer *πρόσθε φυράσειν* (as Stobaeus Flor. 7. 11 quotes the line), but the simple *τῇνδε* is more likely than the needless *πρόσθε*: Stobaeus' reading looks like quotation from memory.

49. *μνημεία*: prob. 'locks of hair or buckles,' says schol.

50. \**Ἀδράστου*: as the leader of the army. Schol. says, 'because Amphiaraios had prophesied that Adrastus alone would survive'; but Aesch. says nothing of this.

*ἔστεφον*, 'hung' [not 'filled,' as schol.], see 279. The construction is pregnant with *πρὸς ἄρμα*: lit. 'brought to the car and hung.'

51. *οἶκτος*, 'lament': they wept, but uttered no word of sorrow.

*διὰ στόμα*, rare poetic use of acc. for gen.: so *διὰ κῆμα*, Supp. 14.

53. \**Ἀρη δεδορκότων*, 'with battle in their eyes' (Verrall). \**Ἀρη* cognate acc. common with *βλέπω*: e. g. *φόνον βλέπειν* 498; *πεφροντικός βλέπειν* Alc. 773, and freq. in Comedy.

54. MSS. read *πίστις*, which can only mean 'and tidings thereof no fear delays' [lit. 'is not delayed by fear'], i. e. I do not shrink from the painful errand of bringing you the bad news. But Stobaeus (fifth cent. A.D.) quotes the line with *πίστις* (also read by one late MS.). With *πίστις* (adopted by many modern editors, Schütz, Weil, Hart., Weckl., and others) the line would mean 'And proof of this (i. e. of their fury) no fear will delay,' i. e. they are sure to come shortly. This is better.

55. *ὥς πάλῃ λαχὼν . . . ἄγοι* may be final, as many take it, 'that each having drawn . . . should lead': but it is better obliq. delib. 'I left them drawing *how each having his place allotted should lead*,' &c., i. e. 'to which gate allotted he should lead his troop.'

58. *τάχος*, 'quickly,' adverbial, as freq. in the poets.

60. *ἀργηστής*, like *ἀργός*, *ἀργής*, *ἀργινός*, words which mean 'quick-glancing,' 'bright,' 'white,' the idea of *movement* being earliest, then *light* or *colour*. This word here means 'white,' but Eum. 181, 'quick-darting.' [Eur. Med. 523 is a quotation from Sept. 62.]

63. 'Fence thy city ere the blasts of Ares break in storm upon it: for the waves are roaring, the land-waves of armed men.' *χερσαίων* explains the metaphor, like Pindar's *ἰὸς ἡμεμφῆς μελίσσων* of honey, Aeschylus' *ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις χρίματος*, Ag. 94. *καταιγίζω*,



'to bear down like a storm' (αἰγίς). The whole passage is a fine example of Aeschylus' bold and effective use of figures.

68. τῶν θύραθεν, lit. 'those *from* without,' where we say 'those without'; the common pregnant constr. So κῆρυξ τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ, Ag. 538; τὸν ἐκ βυθοῦ κλωστήρα σφύζοντες, Cho. 507; τὸν ἐξ Ἀΐδα πατέρ' ἀνστάσεις, Soph. El. 135; τῶν ἐκείθεν ἄγγελος, Ar. Av. 1168, &c.

[*The Messenger departs: Eteokles raises his hands and prays to the gods.*]

70. The Erinyes was originally the 'Parental curse': so in Homer it is the parent particularly who has the right to invoke it, as Phoinix (Il. 9. 454), Althaia (9. 571), Epikaste (Od. 11. 280), &c.

71. πρυμνόθεν has been changed to πρέμνοθεν both here and in 1061 by many edd. following Valckenär. The latter is the regular Attic word: but πρυμνός is so common in Hom. for the *root* of anything (ῥῆν, δόρυ, γλῶσσα, ὄμος, &c.) that Aesch. may well have used πρυμνόθεν, especially as it occurs in Apollonius Rhodius (4. 1684), and therefore probably in some lost epic.

πανώλεθρον: proleptic, 'to utter destruction.'

74. The position of ἐλευθέραν makes it *predicative* in effect, so that the sentence is best rendered in English by two clauses: 'may the land and city of Kadmos be free: may they (the foe) never hold it with slavish yoke.' The inf. of prayer is common from Homer down. Il. 7. 179 Ζεῦ πάτερ ἢ Αἴαντα λαχεῖν, &c.; below 253 μή με δουλείας τυχεῖν; Eur. Supp. 3 Δήμητερ, εὐδαιμονεῖν με. The omission of the subject is rather unusual, but it is easily supplied here.

76. ξυνά, 'for the good of both': profitable to gods and Kadmeians alike. ἐλπίζω, 'I think.' So πῶς γὰρ ἐλπίσω; Cho. 187.

[*Eteokles goes off: Chorus of Theban maidens enter the orchestra.*]

[78-180. PARODOS. The Chorus enter, distracted and terror-stricken. In their broken cries and prayers to Zeus, Pallas, Ares, Aphrodite, Apollo, Leto, and Hera, we can trace the advance of the enemy's host, the retreat of the defenders, the scaling of the walls, the imminent danger.]

This Chorus offers many metrical difficulties, especially when the attempt is made to arrange it completely into the corresponding strophes and antistrophes. In the first passage, 78-108, this cannot be done without an amount of alteration that destroys all probability in the restoration. With the exception of the last few lines, the metre is mainly dochmiac: and it may be, as many scholars from Hermann to Wecklein have thought, that the first part is not antistrophic, but is sung by different individuals in the Chorus, so as to give a better suggestion of the distraction and fright of the women. We have a Chorus in Eum. similarly broken up among different singers (143-77), and similarly tending to be dochmiac: but there the antistrophic correspondence is clear.

79. μεθαίται, 'is let go,' like a bolt, or a flood. The line is a little more forcible if the stop be placed (with Wecklein) at στρατός. 'The host is let loose, from the camp streams forth upon us (ὅδε) a swarm of horsemen in the van.' In the Medicean manuscript a cross (x) appears against this line. This is one of the marks of the great Alexandrine scholar Aristarchos, which were for many centuries faithfully copied by the scribes, but are very seldom found in our MSS. The note here is trivial: merely the difference between στρατός and στρατόπεδον.

81. αἰθερία: predicative, 'high in the air.' The Chorus are supposed to see the dust, and their terror at once supplies the imaginative picture of the charging army.

83. The MSS. here are desperately corrupt, but the passage has been well restored from the scholiast, who explains his text thus: καὶ τὰ τῆς γῆς δέ μου πεδία κατακτυπούμενα τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν ἵππων [καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν] ποιεῖ μου προσπελάζειν τὸν ἦχον τοῖς ὠσίν, i. e. 'And the plains of my country beaten by the horses' feet bring near the noise to my ears,' whence Wecklein (using suggestions of Enger, Seidler, and Ritschl) reads

ιδὲ δὲ γὰς ἐμᾶς πεδί' ὀπλόκτυπ' ὥτ'ί χρίμπτει βοάν.

Paley's ἔτι δέ is better than ιδὲ δέ, which is harsh in sound: and corresponds more exactly to the ἐλεδέμας of M.

84. 'It flies, it roars like the resistless river that cleaves the mountains': fine figurative phrase in Aeschylus' manner. The tramp of the army like the noise of a mountain torrent.

87. ὀρόμενον, 'arisen upon us.' Enger suggests (here and 115) ὄρμενον, the proper epic form, used by Aesch. Ag. 1408: but ὠρόμεν is also an Epic form, and ὀρόμενος occurs Eur. I. A. 186.

88-90. Rothe omits δῶκων, which is superfluous and prob. a gloss on ἐπὶ πόλιν. Probably βοᾷ should also be omitted, which avoids the hiatus, and the word has perhaps crept in from a gloss βοά on ποτᾶται βρέμει δ' above.

98-9. 'Why do we linger with long laments?'

101. The best meaning of this difficult line seems to be, 'When, if not now, shall we put round them (the images) the suppliant robes and chaplets?' [lit. 'the supplications of robes,' &c.]. Seidler's emendation, ἀμφὶ λίταν' ἔξομεν, is generally translated 'we shall engage in prayer' (see L. S.): but that is impossible. It is best to take ἀμφὶ . . . ἔξομεν as tmesis from ἀμπέχειν. The robes and chaplets are the offerings of suppliants: so for example the Athenians offered annually at Panathenaia an embroidered πέπλος to Pallas: and the shrine of Apollo is called πολυστεφής, Eum. 39.

103. δίδορκα, 'I see,' is boldly used of a *sound*: it is made easier by the fact that it is a *mental* vision that is meant. The whole description is imagined by the Chorus from sounds and dust.

οὐχ ἑνός, 'many' a spear: common idiom. Dindorf quotes οὐ μία

χροιά, Cycl. 518; οὐχ ἓνα ῥυθμόν. Supp. 105, &c.; and Latin *non unius anni*, Hor. Od. 4. 9. 39. Similarly οὐχ ἅπαξ, Prom. 211, &c.

105. τὰν τεάν, the reading of M, 'thy land': several MSS. supply γὰν, but it is probably an error.

106. πῆληξ is a Homeric word for helmet; the adj. therefore has an Epic sound.

107. εὐφιλήταν: compound adj. with fem. termination, as περι-κλύστα, Pers. 596; περιρρύτας, Eum. 77; παναρκέτας (?), Cho. 69.

109. I adopt Steusloff's correction ἀθρόοι, which suits the dochmiac metre and accounts for the ἴθ' of MSS.

111. ὑπέρ, 'to save from,' depending on ἰκέσιον. So ὑπέρ is used Aeschin. Ktes. § 11 ψῆφον φέρειν ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰσχύνῃς τοῦ δήμου.

114-5. 'It seethes around the city, the wave of warriors with streaming plumes, rising beneath the blasts of Ares.' δοχμολόφων, lit. 'with sloping plumes': suggesting the speed of the onset. The whole is a fine picturesque image.

116. παντελής, 'all-accomplishing.' ἀρηξον, 'avert.' παντελής, πάντως is unmetrical, as also the antistr. 135. Wecklein's suggestions are the best, see crit. notes.

122. The reading of M διαδέτοι makes good sense; 'the bridles bound through the horses' jaws.' But the line is defective: and the simplest way of filling the gap is Dindorf's διάδετοι δέ τοι. The phrase is then another bold and fine image; 'And bound in the horses' jaws the bridles ring out the sound of death.'

123. κινύρονται is not found elsewhere in Tragedians, and many adopt L. Dindorf's emendation μινύρονται (from Hesych. μινύρονται, προφωνοῦσι, προλέγουσι, which exactly suits this place). It is not easy to decide: but as κινυρός is Homeric, and κινύρομαι occurs in Apol. Rhod., it may very possibly be right.

125. δορυσσοῖς σαγαῖς, lit. 'with spear-brandishing armour,' i. e. 'armed with the swift spear': dat. depends on πρέποντες.

ἑβδόμαις must be used here for 'seven,' as the gloss ἑπτὰ in M indicates. We may perhaps compare the poetic use of the distributive *bini, terni* for *duo, tres* in Latin, as a somewhat parallel licence.

130-1. ἵππιος, for Poseidon the god of the sea was the tamer of horses also, Soph. O. C. 707. 'Ruler of the sea with thy trident that pierces the fish,' dative depending on the adj. The statue would be on the stage with its trident uplifted. [The line in MSS. is unmetrical, ἰχθυβόλῳ μαχανᾷ Ποσειδᾶν: and I have taken Klausen's restoration ἰχθυβόλῳ Ποσειδάων μαχανᾷ.]

136. κήδεσαι, 'care for us,' common Homeric word, originally 'be troubled for,' κήδετο γὰρ Δαναῶν, Il. 1. 56: then (like English 'be concerned for,' 'care for') coming to mean 'loving care.' φιλέουσά τε κηδομένη τε, Il. 1. 196.

140. προμάτωρ: schol. tells us that Kadmos married Harmonia, daughter of Aphrodite.

142. θεοκλύτοις, 'calling on gods': so Aesch. uses θεοκλυτέω, 'to call on the gods,' Pers. 500.

144. I take Seidler's emendation ἀντούσαι, which restores the metre to correspond with 126. Homer uses ἀντεῖν with acc. αὐτεῖ πάντας ἀρίστους, Il. 11. 258, and Eur. of invoking gods, αὐτεον Ἄρτεμιν, Hipp. 168.

145. Λύκειος, old name of Apollo (and even of Artemis, at Troizen, Paus. 2. 31. 4), originally from stem λυκ-, and probably meaning the 'Wolf-god': first perhaps the god *was* the wolf; then he became the *slayer* of the wolf, protector against the wolf. So τοῦ λυκοκτόνου θεοῦ ἀγορά Λύκειος (Soph. El. 6). Later when he became the 'god of light' the name acquired another sense, being associated with λυκ-, 'light' (λεύσσω, λευκός, λυκάβας, ἀμφιλύκη, &c.). So the sense here is:

'Thou the Wolf-god, be thou our Defender. . .'

146. MSS. give στόνων ἀντᾶς. Schol. give two interpretations, (1) 'in return for our lamentations' (ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμεῖς νῦν θρηνοῦμεν), and (2) 'in the battle of groans' (ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τῶν στόνων), clearly taking it as=Homer's στονόεσσα ἀντή. The latter is absurd: but the former helps to cure the corruption, as it probably gives the meaning of an earlier reading. M. Schmidt suggests αὐτίτας, Wecklein ἀντίτας (=ἀνατίτης, 'a requiter'). Either will do: and I take the former as nearer.

149. 'And thou daughter of Leto, prepare thy bow,' εὐτυκάζου being restored by L. Dind. from a gloss of Hesychius (scholar and lexicographer fourth cent. A. D.) εὐτυκάζου· εὐτυκτον ἔχε, ἔτοιμον.

[Wecklein following Enger suggests, to restore complete correspondence with the strophe, σύ τ' ὦ Λατοῖς, εὐτυκάζου, and proposes to omit (with Seidler) Ἄρτεμι φίλα, as having crept in from 154. The omission is doubtless right: but the other alteration, though very ingenious, is deserting M too much. We cannot tell whether something has dropped out of the strophe, or been added to the antistrophe.]

154. MSS. give ἐ ἐ ἐ ζ, which must either be ejected here or repeated after 161. The former is perhaps preferable.

155. 'With the shock of the spears the sky is maddened,' a fine hyperbole, expressive of the Chorus' terror.

158. 'And down from the battered ramparts comes the shower of stones': the stones flung by the foe come from the ramparts (i. e. over them) upon the besieged: the double danger, the ramparts being battered, and the defenders struck down, being tersely and forcibly given.

[(1) Some take the gen. to mean 'towards the ramparts,' a use of the gen. not justified by examples of verbs like στοχάζεσθαι, ἐφίεσθαι, &c. with gen. of aim: to use this constr. with the simple ἔρχεσθαι would be quite different and hardly Greek; (2) Others understand the phrase of the *besieged*, 'from the ramparts': but



then ἀκροβόλων loses its significance; and moreover the whole passage describes the *attack* not the *defence*.]

161. I take von den Bergh's emendation here, approved by Wecklein, for the unmetrical καὶ Διόθεν of the MSS. :

παῖ Διός, ὅθεν

πολεμόκραντον ἀγνὸν τέλος ἐν μάχᾳ κ. τ. λ.,

'child of Zeus, in whose hands is the divine issue of war when the battle rages' [lit. 'whence is the holy war-accomplishing decision in the battle']. The παῖ Διός will then refer to Apollo.

164. 'And thou, blest queen Onka, in the city's defence [or simply 'standing before our city'] save our seven-gated home.' The scholiasts are confused about Ὀγκα, some saying Ὀγκα is the Theban Athena; others that Ὀγκαία Athena is worshipped by the Thebans, Ὀγκα by the Phoenicians. From this confusion we may probably gather that Ὀγκα was a war deity of Thebes, supposed to have a Phoenician origin (as Kadmos was supposed to be Phoenician) : and Pausan. 9. 12. 2 takes this view. See below 487.

[MSS. read μάχαισί | τε, which Hermann well emended to μάχα. | σύ τε. Others make other alterations, some connecting μάκαιρ', &c., with the two previous lines : but this makes a clumsy invocation of three lines to Onka, and only three words to Apollo.]

167. τέλειοι, 'supreme': a favourite word with Aeschylus of divine power: it is lit. 'that which has τέλος, or the final power.' So τελέων τελειότατον κράτος, ὄλβιε Ζεῦ, Supp. 526. Another closely allied sense of the word is 'that which brings τέλος, or accomplishment': as Ζεῦ Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει, Ag. 973.

170. ἑτεροφώνῳ, not βαρβάρῳ, for they were Hellenes (schol.).

171. κλύετε πανδίκως, 'righteously hear': bolder and more forcible than the original reading of M πανδίκους ('our righteous prayers') as it calls on the gods to *do right by hearing them*.

χειροτόνους. The classical attitude of prayer is to stand with hands uplifted, the palms upward, ὑπτιάσμασιν χερῶν Prom. 1005.

174. ἀμφιβάντες, 'protecting.' The word is Homeric, and is regularly used in the *literal* sense of 'bestriding' a fallen friend, to save him, ἀμφὶ κασιγνήτῳ βεβαῶς, Il. 14. 477, so 17. 4: we also find it once *metaphorical* in address to Apollo (Il. 1. 37) ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας, of which this expression is no doubt (as schol. says) a reminiscence.

177. μέλεισθε, 'regard,' a natural but rather unusual sense. It was a common primitive instinct to appeal to the *gratitude* of the gods. So again 179.

178. μελόμενοι δ' ἀρήξατε does not correspond to the strophe ἑτεροφώνῳ στρατῷ: but there is no other reason to correct either; it is not clear which should be corrected: and the suggestions are not convincing. [The best are, for 170, ἑτερορήμονι, Herm., ἐν ἑτεροθρόῳ, Hart.: for 178, δ' ἔλθετε, Eng.]



179. φιλοθύτων ὀργίων, 'rites of lavish sacrifice': it is the city strictly which *loves sacrifice*, but the ὀργια are personified in Aesch.'s manner. Somewhat similar are στίβοι φιλόνορες, Ag. 411; ἀπ' ὄμματος βέλει φιλοϊκτώ, Ag. 240; and more exactly φιλοσπόνδου λιβός, Cho. 292.

180. 'Be mindful, we pray.' μοι, ethic dat.

[*Enter Eteokles; he addresses the Chorus in anger.*]

[181-287. FIRST EPEISODION. Eteokles roughly rebukes the clamour of the women, as encouraging the foe and frightening the citizens: and he ends with a threat of punishment. The Chorus (in a half-lyric dialogue) plead their terror as excuse: they have only been praying to the gods. The king replies (230) that it is for men to sacrifice: the women should abide in their houses in silence. They may pray to the gods but not frighten the city. They are silenced at last and submit (263). Eteokles bids them pray quietly (280), while he returns to appoint the seven champions (283) to resist the invaders.]

183. The coupling of adj. σωτήρια and abstract subst. θάρσος is a little unusual, but quite natural, 'Is this well? will this save the state and hearten the host?' Weil reads ἀρωγά for ἄριστα: needless.

185. βρέτη πρὸς θεῶν is a common order when the gen. depends on the noun, ἄλσος ἐς τᾶνδε κορᾶν, O. C. 126; τοσούνδ' ἐς ἡβης, El. 14: but the interposition of πεσούσας makes it a little unusual here.

186. αὔειν, 'shout,' Homeric word (αὐε δ' Ἀθήνη, Il. 20. 48), here used contemptuously, 'should clamour and howl.'

μισήματα. It is of course *they*, not (as schol.) their deeds, that are the 'abhorrence of the wise.'

189. Many edd. take κρατοῦσα and δείσασα as nom. pend. ('when she is triumphant, *her* boldness is,' &c.); but this is needless: it is better and more characteristic of Aesch. to say, 'When prosperous, she is boldness unapproachable, when she takes fright (aor.) she is woe yet worse to house and city.'

192. θέσαι, 'making,' as often in Aeschylus (P. V. 444, 848; Eum. 324, 458, &c.) and poets generally.

διερροθήσατ' . . . κάκην, lit. 'you have clamoured cowardice into the citizens': bold example of the emphatic violent diction of anger: 'And now, thus hurrying about in flight, ye have spread by your clamour rank cowardice among the men.'

193-4. 'The fortune of our foes is thus best aided, while we within by our own hands are ravaged.' The reading of M and of the best MSS. is ὀφέλλεται; the later ones read ὀφέλλετε, which gives the same sense another way. I take ὀφέλλεται (with Weil, Weckl., Verrall) as best supported and making the best antithesis.

αὐτῶν, common for 1st and 2nd person: μόρον τὸν αὐτῆς οἶσθα, Ag. 1297; τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκποριζώμεθα, Thuc. 1. 82; Soph. O. T. 138, &c.

195. This line is found in the later MSS., but is absent from M. Those who assume that all the later MSS. are derived from M are obliged to reject the line as a later addition: but if we take the safer hypothesis that the later MSS. are descended from a *not remote ancestor* of M, the line may be genuine, and accidentally omitted in M. In itself the line is Aeschylean, and suits well the tone of the speaker: 'such trouble one gets by dwelling with women' breathes the same angry contempt as 181, 186-8, 197, 200.

197. 'Man or woman or whatsoever is betwixt,' again the hyperbole of anger. Compare the ironical hyperbole of the angry Kreon (Antig. 311) where he threatens the guards that he will hang them, in order that *in their future thefts they may be wiser*.

τῶν: Epic used of article for demonst., common in Aesch. (Ag. 397; Cho. 278, 639, &c.).

198. 'A decree of death shall be passed against them,' the words ψῆφος and even βουλεύω being used, by a not uncommon strain of meaning, of the tyrant. So of Kreon's order ψῆφον τελείαν, Ant. 632; ψῆφον τυράννων, ib. 60.

βουλεύεται, the older use of middle fut. for passive, common in Tragg. φυλάσσομαι, Phil. 48; διδάσσομαι, Ant. 726; ἐχθαροῦμαι, ib. 93: with *pure* verbs it seems regular even in prose. Thuc. uses κωλύσομαι, εἴσομαι, πολεμήσομαι; Soph. δηλώσομαι, ξενώσομαι, τιμήσομαι, &c.

199. δ', third place, see 41.

201. The change from 3rd to 2nd person is most dramatic in the angry king: 'Tis the man's charge—let not the woman advise—to order what is without: dwell thou within and harm us not!'

204. The repetition is not unnatural in the excited affrighted lyric. [Weckl. (following hint of M. Schmidt) reads ὁχῶν ὄτοβον which exactly corresponds to antistrophe as emended, 212: but in the dochmiac this is not necessary.]

205. σύριγγες ἐλίτροχοι, i. e. the naves of the rolling wheels (lit. 'wheel-rolling naves').

206. The MSS. give ἀύνων, impossible in itself, and involving the whole sentence in great grammatical perplexity, from which the correction διὰ στόμα (Herm., Paley, &c.) does not relieve it. Lachmann's ἄπνον, curing metre and grammar, is the best correction. 'And the noise of the tillers in the horses' mouth, the bridles forged in the fire.'

207. πυριγενετᾶν (MSS.), 'fire-born,' 'fire-forged.' [Dindorf found a gloss in Hesychius πυριβρεμέτας ὁ χαλινός. Τιμαχίδας δὲ ἦτοι ὁ πυρὶ βρέμων ἢ διὰ πυρὸς βρέμοντος γεγονώς. The word χαλινός pointed to this passage, but the sense proposed is not very apt: 'roaring with fire,' i. e. 'fiery breath,' is rather grotesque, and 'forged with roaring fire' far-fetched. The MSS. πυριγενετᾶν is preferable.]

208. τί οὖν; This has been emended, to avoid hiatus: but MSS. all give τί οὖν here and Eum. 902; Pers. 787; inf. 704: so τί εἶπας;

Trach. 1203;  $\tau\iota$  Ἀιδου, Ag. 1115;  $\tau\acute{\iota}$  ἔστι; Pers. 693. And the licence with  $\tau\acute{\iota}$  is quite intelligible. It is used in Comedy also. See 704.

ἐς πρῶραν has been generally understood of the sailor going to pray to the protecting gods whose figures were in the prow. But this would make the answer ('but it was to the gods' images I ran . . .') much less effective: and it is better to take it of the sailor in terror deserting the helm and rushing aimlessly to the prow.

209.  $\eta\tilde{\nu}\rho\epsilon$ , gnomic aor., 'finds':  $\kappa\alpha\mu\acute{o}\sigma\eta\varsigma$  (210) naturally has the same tense.

212. 'When the noise was heard of the deadly snowstorm beating at the gates.' The 'storm' is a metaphor of course for the stones (158) and darts showered against the city.

214.  $\delta\eta$  τότ' after a pause is Homeric: e. g. Od. 1. 424.

216.  $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$ , 'keep off.'

217. In the Med. all three lines were given to Eteokles originally, but  $m_1$  (a later corrector) assigns this half line to the Chorus, and all other MSS. have it so. It is certainly better as corrected: the particles  $\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu$ , ἀλλ' οὖν are enough to show it is dialogue: and if we suppose it all spoken by Eteokles it would be a dialogue with himself of a harsh and unlikely character.

Cho. 'Shall not this then be the gods' part?' [i.e. I was right then to have recourse to prayer?]

Et. 'Nay, the gods of the conquered city forsake it, men say.'

Note that line 217 is divided between two speakers: this and Prom. 980 are the only places in Aesch. where this is done.

πόλιν has to be understood after ἐκλείπειν, by a common idiom. This strange superstition appears strikingly below 305: and is illustrated by the Roman *evocatio*, or 'summons' addressed to the gods of a besieged city. In Livy's account of the siege of Veii (5. 21, 22) Iuno is invited to Rome by the dictator, and when asked if she was willing to come, is supposed to have said 'volo.'

219. λίποι, i.e. πόλιν, which is all the more easily understood as λίποι but repeats ἐκλείπειν.

221. ἀστυδρομουμένην. ἀστυδρομεῖν, is 'to overrun a city,' i.e. to ravage: and it is thus capable of being used with another noun, like aedificare, πολιορκεῖν, both regularly transitive.

καὶ στρατεύμ' ἀπτόμενον πυρὶ δαΐφ, 'and our army caught by the ravaging fire.' The phrase is not too bold or figurative for Aeschylus, though some word like 'walls' or 'rampart' would be more common than 'army.' [To make *στράτευμα* refer to the defending *gods* (Verrall) is too obscure: to make it the *enemy's* army, and ἀπτόμενον = 'firing' (P. Schütz, following late schol.) is hardly Greek.]

225. The MSS. give γυνή, which schol. explains 'wife of Zeus the Saviour': a grotesque and impossible sense. Welcker and others propose γύναι, addressed to the Chorus, which makes a very awkward line. The best correction is Hermann's γονῆς σωτήρος, 'Obedience is the mother of Success, a child that brings deliverance.' Paley's

εὐταξίας is also plausible, as it is less of a truism to say that 'order saves' than that 'success saves.' But schol. recognizes εὐπραξίας, which is probably what Aesch. wrote.

For σωτήρ agreeing with a fem. compare τύχη σωτήρ, Ag. 664.

228. 'And oftentimes in troubles the helpless man even from grievous woe he [the god] uplifts, when clouds hang over his eyes.' The figurative language is plain enough, though strictly ὄρθοι and νεφέλαι belong to different metaphors. -λάν ὄρθοι does not correspond to δαῖω (222) exactly: but the metre admits either. If it be emended the neatest suggestion is Enger's, to read (222) δαῖω πᾶν and (229) ἀνορθοί. See note on 705.

230. χρηστήρια, 'victims,' properly for divination; such were always offered when the sacrificer wanted oracular help.

231. πειρωμένων, 'make attack': the original reading of M πειρωμένοις is obviously an error.

233. ἀδάματον, predicate: 'through the gods it is that the city we dwell in is unconquered.'

235. Lit. 'what displeasure disapproves this?': i. e. 'who can blame us?'

238. There is no need to alter εὐκηλος, a common Epic word (found also Soph. El. 241), into ἔκηλος, read in one or two later MSS.

239. M reads ποταίνιον and ἄμμιγα, converting the dochmiac into iambic. I have taken ποτίφατον (Heimsoeth) and ἀνάμιγα (from one late MS.), 'Hearing a strange and troubled sound.' The metre of the Chorus is (throughout the dialogue) mainly dochmiac.

243. ἀρπαλίζετε, 'snatch up' (the news) with wailings: a vigorous metaphor after the poet's manner: he means 'burst into loud lament.'

244. 'For this is the food of Ares, the blood of men': i. e. do not make violent outcries, for wounds and death are inevitable in war. The correction of the Aldine edition φόβω, adopted by Dind. and others, is much feebler, and the sense is less likely.

Note Ἄρης with a long, as in Homer when metre requires, Ἄρες Ἄρες, Il. 5. 31. So line 344, 469; Soph. Ant. 139.

245. καὶ μὴν ἀκούω γ', 'ay, and hark, I hear...'

247. κυκλοῦσθαι is the regular Attic word for 'surrounding' in war, Thuc. 4. 127; 5. 72; 7. 81, &c., though κυκλοῦν is also used.

250. Certainly to be read as one line without stop: μηδὲν ἐρεῖς requires the οὐ to make sense or grammar. The expression is really two clauses run into one by the haste and excitement of the speaker. Instead of saying 'Be silent: say nought of this in the city' (οὐ σιγήσει, μηδὲ ἐρεῖς μηδέν...), he says 'Wilt thou not in silence tell nought...'. In 252 exactly the same occurs, where the speaker (from the same cause) runs together what we should give as two clauses, 'To perdition with thee! be silent and hear.'

251. ξυντελείς are properly people 'contributing' to bear any



public burden. *ξυντέλεια* is a 'company' of such contributors, and hence by a natural metaphor here 'the guardian-band' of gods, who combine to protect the city.

252. See note on 250.

253. The gods are boldly and effectively called 'citizens.'

*μή με . . . τυχαῖν* : acc. inf. of prayer (common construction whether with or without *δός, δοίην, εὔχομαι, &c.*). So Eum. 30 ; Cho. 307.

254. M (and others) have *καμέ καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν* : a few MSS. have *καμέ καὶ σέ καὶ πόλιν*. Herm. suggests that *καὶ σέ* was a correction for *καμέ* and has ousted *πᾶσαν*, and proposes to read (with Wunderlich), *καὶ σέ καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν*. This is certainly more effective as a contemptuous answer to the Chorus' prayer.

255. *βέλος*, 'thy bolt,' i.e. the ruin which threatens us.

256. *ῥήσας*, 'thou hast given.' Homeric word.

257. *ἀλῶ* : Epic use of indef. subj. without *ἄν*, common in Trag. The answer is scornful : 'men when their city is taken are just as wretched.' Several later MSS. read *ἄνδρες*, which some editors adopt. But M reads *ἄνδρας*, which is really more natural and idiomatic. It is the regular practice of these single-line dialogues to *carry on* the construction in the replies. Thus *μοχθηρόν* is felt to be *accusative* like *οἶον . . . γένος*, and that leads naturally to *ἄνδρας*.

258. *παλινστομεῖς αὖ* ; 'dost thou speak ill-omened words?' So the scholiast explains it, and the explanation is strongly confirmed by *θυγγάνουσ' ἀγαλμάτων*. Here *πάλιν* is literally 'against' (as used in *πάλιν ἐρεῖν*, 'gainsay,' Il. 9. 56, and below, 1045, *μηδὲ τῷ δόξῃ πάλιν*, 'let none think otherwise'), and so is a mild expression for *δυσφημεῖς*. [The other explanation, 'utter retorts,' 'answer again,' makes poor sense with *θυγγ. ἀγαλ.* Besides, to refer to defeat (*ὦν ἀλῶ πόλιν*) was clearly 'ill-omened.']

260. *εἰ δοίης*, 'oh that thou would'st grant,' older Epic use of *εἰ*, where later Greek usually has *εἴθε* : *δοίης* is therefore the common wishing optative (cf. 550). *τέλος*, lit. 'accomplishment' : 'a light boon' we must say.

264. *αἰρούμαι . . . ἀντί*, i.e. 'I prefer.'

265. *ἐκτὸς οὔσα*, 'leaving.' Eteokles wishes the Chorus to cease from their laments, which are simply alarming and discouraging ; to leave the statues and simply pray once for all that the gods will aid them : he will then pray, in his turn, and they are to raise *joyful* cries, as at a sacrifice.

266. *τὰ κρείσσω*, 'the one best prayer,' that the gods may be their helpers, in place of the terrified cries of 251, 253, 255.

268. 'Raise the holy gracious cry of joy.' *ὀλολύζειν* is regularly used of joyous or triumphant cries, and of *women*. So Ag. 28 the guard bids Klyt. raise the 'auspicious *ὀλολογμός*' and 595 Klyt. speaks of the men *ὀλολυγμόν εὐφημοῦντες . . . γυναικείῳ νόμῳ*. The MSS *παιώνισον* seems the true older form, not *παιαν-*.



νόμισμα and θάρσος are appositions to ὁλοθυγμῶν.

270. πολέμιον φόβον, 'fear of the foe.' Some (Blaydes, Dindorf, Paley, with Verrall) read πολεμίων, because one schol. explains it τὸν τῶν πολεμίων φόβον: but the fact of his explaining it at all rather shows that he read πολέμιον.

271. The unusually combined expression πολιισσοῦχοι χώρας is explained in the next line as including πεδιονόμοι, 'gods of the vale' and ἀγοραῖοι, 'gods of the city.'

273. MSS. all read οὐδ' ἀπ' Ἰσμηνοῦ λέγω, which offers no sense. It has been variously corrected: the most ingenious suggestion is that of Abresch, adopted by Schütz and Wecklein, οὐδ' ἀπ' Ἰσμηνὸν λέγω, 'nor do I except Ismenos': but ἀπολέγω in this sense is unexampled, and the phrase is frigid: moreover the sentence then lacks a principal verb. Of the others ὕδατά τ' (W. Dind.), ὕδατί τ' (Geel, Herm.), or ὕδασί τ' (L. Dind.) are the best: I adopt ὕδατί τ' (Geel): the case is often unchanged with λέγω; see 658, and Ag. 279, where the genitive is similarly retained. (W. Headlam's ξυνά τ' Ἰσμηνοῦ λέγω 'and of Ismenos likewise' is also ingenious, but less natural.)

274. Particip. conditional: 'if all goes well and the city is safe.'

275-9. M reads:—

μήλοισιν αἰμάσσοντας ἐστίας θεῶν,  
ταυροκτονούντας θεοῖσιν, ὧδ' ἐπέυχομαι  
θήσειν τροπαῖα, πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήμασι  
λάφυρα δάων δουρίπληχθ' ἀγνοῖς δόμοις  
στέψω πρὸ ναῶν πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήματα.

This passage is a well-known difficulty. There is obviously corruption: the repetition of πολεμίων ἐσθήματα is impossible, and though the general sense is easy to see ['I vow to sacrifice sheep and bulls, and hang up our foe's spoils to the gods'], there is no construction as it stands. Moreover the redundancies θήσειν τροπαῖα . . . στέψω πρὸ ναῶν, λάφυρα δάων . . . πολεμίων ἐσθήματα, ἐπέυχομαι . . . ἐπέυχου, are at least suspicious, and so is the plural αἰμάσσοντας with no pronoun, esp. as followed by singular στέψω.

The passage is variously re-written, and variously reduced by excision. On the whole the most probable view is that of L. Dindorf, that 275-7 are an interpolation: and this I have adopted, striking out of course (with him) the δ' before the last word. Herm. reads 277-9 thus: θησ. τροπ. δαίων τ' ἐσθήματα | στέψω πρὸ ναῶν δουρίπληχθ' ἀγνοῖς δόμοις.

Weckl. adopts Ritschl's suggestion, omitting 276-7, and reading 275 μήλοισιν αἰμάσσων τόθ', κ.τ.λ., which has the advantage of retaining a thoroughly Aeschylean line, though τόθ' is weak. Possibly the passage omitted may be Aeschylus' own, but erroneously added from elsewhere.

278. The MSS. read *δουρίπληκτα*, 'spear-smitten,' 'spear-dinted': the spoils being the armour, called by a stretch *ἐσθήματα*.

Porson's correction *δουρίληφθ'*, 'captured by the spear,' is plausible, especially in view of *δοριθήρατος*, *δοριάλωτος*, *αἰχμάλωτος* used of spoils, but Dindorf's *δουρίπηχθ'*, 'fastened by the spear' (adopted by Herm., Pal., Hart., Well.), is probably better.

280. *τοιαῦτ' ἐπέυχου*, 'Let that be thy prayer' he says, with some irony: a proud confident prayer, not a feeble cry of terror, nor 'vain wild cries.'

281. *ποιφύγμασι*: lit. 'violent breathings' [*ποιφύσσω* strong reduplication from stem *φυ-* 'blow' in *φυ-σά-ω*], a scornful word for 'cries,' 'howls.'

282. *οὐ γάρ τι μᾶλλον μὴ φύγῃς*, 'none the more shalt thou,' common idiom for strong negation: see 38.

283. MSS. *ἐγὼ δ' ἐπ' ἄνδρας* . . . which can only be plausibly taken with *μολών*, 'I will go fetch . . . and post them:' and the order is against this.

Blom. and Dind. read *ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἄνδρας* (from an anonymous conjecture). Canter *ἐπάρχους* (adopted by Weil). I have preferred the former.

284. *τὸν μέγαν τρόπον*, 'full mightily,' a stately expression. Paley well quotes 465 *ἐσχημάτισται δ' ἀσπίς οὐ σμικρὸν τρόπον*, 'a proud device.'

*ἀντιπρέτας*, 'opponents,' with the nautical metaphor so common in Tragedians.

285. *ἐπταταιχεῖς*: stately rhetorical compound; 'seven-built portals.'

286. 'Ere hasty messengers and swift-speeding news come.' . . . Some take it all as one expression, 'ere urgent and swift-spiced herald-words arrive,' which would be a personification rather like Aeschylus: but the objection is that *σπερχνούς τε καὶ ταχυρρόθους* would then be too much of a repetition. In the rendering adopted, the slight displacement of *τε* (following *σπερχνούς* instead of *ἀγγέλους*) is fairly common: e.g. Od. 19. 367 *ἦος ἵκοιο γῆράς τε λιπαρὸν θρέψαιό τε φαίδιμον νιόν*.

287. *καὶ φλέγειν*, 'and kindle us,' trouble and excite us, 'with the sore peril.' It is far weaker to take *φλέγειν* (as some do) intrans.

Eteokles wishes to have the defence ready before the dire stress comes.

[*Eteokles goes out.*]

[288-374. FIRST STASIMON. We are oppressed with fear and trouble: the foes threaten: ye gods! save us (288-303). Where will ye gods get a better land? therefore bring destruction on the foe, and win glory, and safety for your temples and service (303-20). 'Tis piteous to lay low such a city—the buildings aflame, the women dragged to slavery! the very city cries out! (321-32).

Woeful is the ravishing of maidens, worse than death! many are the horrors—rapine, fire, murder: Ares rages, defiling Piety (333-44). Shouts rise: the net draws close: slaughter of mothers and babes is afoot: greedy robbers roam the city (345-56): all stores are scattered, wasted: the young slave-girls weep anew, for the foe that prevails, and the horrors that await them (357-68). *One speaker.* Here comes the spy! *Another speaker.* And here the king! (369-74.)]

288. μέλει, 'I give heed.'

289. καρδίας is supposed by some to be treated as a dissyllable: but possibly the text is wrong, here or 305.

290. 'Fan my terrors of the host girdling our walls,' the acc. λεών governed by the *idea* 'make me to fear': but the constr. is less harsh than might seem, because this case is regularly used after all words of fear, even those properly passive like φοβείσθαι, ἐκπλαγῆναι, or intrans. like τρέω, τρέμω, τρομέω. So Dem. (53. 11) has τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιούτους, and by a similar development of the simple verb, Soph. El. 123 τάκεις οἰμωγὰν τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα.

293. λεχαίων, 'nestling': Lachmann's excellent correction of λεχέων. The schol. must have read the adj., as he explains it νεμομένων ἐπὶ τῆς καλιᾶς, 'living on the nest.' The confusion of αι- and ε- in MSS. is one of the commonest.

293. δυσεννάτορας. The snakes are grimly called 'ill bedfellows.'

294. πάντρομος: the original reading of M is the best, 'the all-timorous dove,' Homer's τρήρων πελειάς. The first corrector has written φ over the μ, i. e. corrected the word to πάντροφος, which is the reading of the scholiast, of Tzetzes (on Lyk. 87), of Eustathius (on Odyssey, p. 1602), and of the later MSS. But it is not so natural an epithet.

297. τί γένωμαι; 'what will become of us?' *Dubitative* rather than deliberative, as often in Homer ὅμοι ἐγὼ τί πάθω; &c.

298. τοῖ δ', Epic form: ἀμφιβόλοισιν: lit. 'struck on both sides,' here more generally used 'betwixt two foes,' 'assailed on either side': the common military word, Thuc. 4. 32, 36.

300. χερμάδ' ὀκρίεσσαν, 'rugged stone,' Epic words: Il. 4. 518 χερμαδίῳ ὀκρίεοντι.

306. βαθύχθον', 'deep-soiled,' 'rich.' So νεοῖο βαθείης, Il. 10. 353.

308. εὐτραφής: act. 'nourishing'; so with γάλα, Cho. 898.

311. *Tethys*, according to Hesiod, daughter of Ouranos and Gaia, and wife and sister of Okeanos, and mother of the Sea nymphs and River gods. The rivers are of course here meant: Poseidon was god of all waters, rivers as well as sea.

314-5. M reads ἀνδρολέτειραν καταρίσοπλον ἄταν. The triple compound καταρίσοπλον is impossible, and the first corrector of M alters it to καὶ τάν, which all the other MSS. have. The article however will not do, and καί is feeble. Of the other suggestions

(κῆρα Lowinski, νόσον Dindorf, αἰχμάν E. A. Ahrens, κάρτα M. Schmidt, κάκαν Hermann) perhaps the first is the best.

The prayer then is that the gods will cast on their assailants 'a deadly doom, a panic, flinging away their armour.'

317. τοῖσδε πολίταις, 'in the eyes of these citizens': a use of the dat. well known in Homer, Il. 4. 95 Τρώεσσι κῦδος ἄροιο; 9. 303 ἧ γάρ κέν σφι μάλα μέγα κῦδος ἄροιο; 22. 217 οἷσεσθαι μέγα κῦδος. Ἀχαιοῖσιν. So πᾶσι κλεινός, O. T. 8.

318. I have adopted W. Headlam's emendation <ἔστ>, which completes the metre and the structure of the sentence.

319. εὐεδροί τε στάθῃτ', 'and be established on your fair thrones'; εὐεδρος of gods, cf. 97. So εὐθρονος, χρυσόθρονος, &c.

321. ὠγγύιαν, 'ancient'; adj. of unknown origin. [Hes.] Theog. 806 uses it of Στυγὸς ὕδωρ: Aeschylus of Thebes here, of Egyptian Thebes Pers. 37, and of Athens ib. 974. So Soph. O. C. 1770 τὰς ὠγγύιους Θήβας; and Phil. 142 quite generally, κράτος ὠγγύγιον, 'power from of old.' The legend of Ogyges king of Thebes, or of Attica, is clearly a later attempt to explain the word: and it is first found in Pausanias I. 38. 7, 9. 5. 1.

322. Ἀΐδα προΐαψαι, 'to hurl to destruction,' is Epic, from the opening of the Iliad, I. 3.

323. ψαφαρῇ σποδῶ, 'in dust and ashes,' dat. of manner or circumstance, but really giving here the result of περθομέναν.

324. θεόθεν, 'by God's decree,' favourite word of Aeschylus, e. g. Cho. 38, 941; Ag. 105, 131. It goes of course with περθομέναν.

326. κεκηρωμένας of the MSS. would do in the general sense 'desolate,' Il. 5. 642: but κεχειρωμένας (correction in M by later hand) is a more natural word. The inf. depends on οἰκτρόν. 'A piteous sight, the captive women, alas, young and old dragged off like horses by the hair.'

331. 'As the spoil is borne off to its fate with mingled cries,' the λαῖς including the prisoners and animals.

332. This line is taken by some after βοᾷ, as the cry of the ravaged city: the personification of the city is not unlike Aeschylus: but the line is much more forcible, as well as natural, if it be taken as the words of the Chorus: they picture the fate of the women, and end with a shuddering cry 'I fear for the terrible fate.'

333 sqq. All MSS. read ἀρτιτρόποις ὤμοδρόπων: in M the first corrector has written δ over the second τ of ἀρτιτρόποις: i. e. he read ἀρτιδρόποις. It is a corrupt and difficult passage, of which however the general sense is obvious: 'It is a woeful fate for the young maidens to be carried off from home to be the victors' concubines.'

The following points will clear the ground:—

(1) The text was already corrupt when scholia were written: for they recognize both ἀρτιτρόποις and ἀρτιδρόποις, explaining the former (impossibly) as 'lately turned from childhood,' i. e. just mature. And further they are driven to explain the gen. ὤμοδρόπων as



meaning, 'by those who pluck them yet unripe,' i.e. by the captors. In other words the schol. found the present text, and could not make sense of it.

(2) ὠμόδροπος, a powerful and appropriate poetical word, must be applied to the girls, and describe the cruelty of their fate; it cannot agree with νομίμων, as many edd. (Schütz, Blomf., Pal., L. S., &c.) take it, '*ante sollennia crudum virginitalis florem decerpentia.*'

(3) The reading of the corrector of M, ἀρτιδρόποις ὠμοδρόπων, is anyhow impossible: the repetition of -δροπος is intolerable.

I believe therefore that we must read ὠμοδρόποις with Ritschl: as to the other word Ritschl also suggests ἀρτιρόπων. This would account for the error, the endings of the two words having been interchanged, as does happen. But the only tolerable meaning would be 'rightly conducted' [like ἀρτίφρων, 'right-minded'], and that is a feeble sense, and a very dubious word. I prefer to take Schneider's ἀρτίτροφοις, adopted by Dind., Pal., &c. The passage would then run:—

κλαυτὸν δ' ἀρτιτρόφοις ὠμοδρόποις  
νομίμων προπάροιθεν διαμείψαι  
δωμάτων στυγερὰν ὁδόν.

'Tis piteous for the fresh grown maidens, plucked all unripe, before the marriage rite, to pass from their homes along the hateful way [of slavery].'

336. M reads τί; τὸν φθίμενον γὰρ προλέγω. But τί is never found alone: it is always τί δέ; τί μὴν; τί γάρ; &c.; the latter especially in Aeschylus, e.g. Ag. 1239; Eum. 678. Accordingly I adopt Blomfield's correction, τί γάρ; φθίμενόν τοι προλέγω.

προλέγω might be taken 'I prefer,' and then the next line would be epexegetic: but it is more naturally taken 'I proclaim,' and then the construction is acc. and inf., and the whole sentence more natural.

338. δαμασθῇ: Epic use (common in Trag.) of indef. subj. where the conj. has no ἄν. So Eum. 211 ἥτις νοσφίσῃ, 336 τοῖσιν ξυμπέσωσιν, 661 οἷσι μὴ βλάβῃ: see 257.

341. τὰ δέ: the gender changed obviously because it is the men and women who are dragged off and slain, the houses which are burnt.

342. δέ spoils the metre and is not wanted: Brunck rightly rejected it.

344. μαιίνων εὐσέβειαν, 'polluting piety,' imaginative expression for the sacrilege and horror of the sack of a town.

For Ἄρης with long α, see note on 244.

345-7. There is want of correspondence between the first two lines of the strophe and the antistrophe. M reads:—

346 κορκορυγαὶ δ' ἄν' ἄστυ,  
ποτὶ πτόλιν δ' ὀρκάνα πυργῶτις  
πρὸς ἀνδρὸς δ' ἀνὴρ δορὶ καίνεται.



and in 357 παντοδαπὸς δὲ καρπὸς  
χαμάδις πεσὼν ἀλγύνει κυρήσας·  
πικρὸν δ' ὄμμα θαλαμηπόλων.

The simplest changes are to remove πτόλιν (which, as Hermann saw, was added to explain ποτί) and κυρήσας, which Dindorf ejected. The missing syllable before θαλαμηπόλων may then be the article (τῶν Arnaldus, τᾶν Weckl.).

345. κορκορυαί: word imitative of sound, 'the noise of war.' Aristophanes quotes it in mockery, λῦσον δὲ μάχας καὶ κορκορυγᾶς, Pax 991.

346. ποτί δ' ὀρκάνα πυργῶτις, 'and against it rises the towering net-work,' a very obscure expression, perhaps metaphorical, of the destruction like a net approaching the city, as Paley aptly quotes ἦτ' ἐπὶ πύργοις ἔβαλες στεγανὸν δίκτυον, Ag. 357: which suggests an emendation here ποτί δ' ὀρκάνα πύργοισιν, 'and the net is cast upon the towers': but perhaps it is best to leave it, as πυργῶτις is not likely to be an invention.

348. 'And the wailing resounds of new-born infants at the breast, streaming with blood.' The sense is clear: but the adjectives are very boldly transferred. M reads ἀρτιτρεφεῖς, the most natural word; but possibly ἀρτιβρεφεῖς, a rarer word found in G and others, may be right.

351. 'And there is Rapine, sister of Pursuit,' Aeschylean way of describing imaginatively the scattering through the city of the conquering soldiers in search of booty. The use of the plural is familiar with abstracts in Homer: σφετέρησιν ἀτασθαλίησιν, Od. 1. 7; ἀτιμήσιν ἰάλλειν, Od. 13. 142; ἧς ὑπεροπλήσι, Il. 1. 205; βίας ὑποδέγμενος, Od. 13. 310, &c. For the phrase cf. λιγνὺν μέλαιναν αἰόλην πυρὸς κάσιν, below, 494; κόνις κάσις πηλοῦ ξύνουρος, Ag. 494.

352. ξυμβολαί, 'meets' (as schol. M, and Hesych. explain it). The passage is a vivid picture of the plunderers in the city. 'Finder meets finder: the empty-handed calls to the empty-handed, willing to have a partner [which the successful one naturally avoids]: all eager to share neither less nor equally'—a grim ironical way of describing their greed.

355. λελιμμένοι (the right reading preserved in the later MSS.) occurs again 380, an old perf. pass. (for which a later present λίπτομαι is found) from stem λιβ-: it means 'desiring,' and is connected with *lib-et*, and English *lieve*, *love*.

356. I take the simplest alteration τίν' ... λόγον (Dindorf formerly), 'What tale (i.e. what horrors) can we look for from hence?' The plundering is only the beginning of miseries to the conquered.

359. 'Saddened are the eyes of the house-dames.' The waste of provisions is a bitter sight for the careful house-wives.

361. οὔτιδανοῖς ἐν ροθίοις φορεῖται, 'in worthless billows is swept along': worthless because it is cast out and trodden under foot.

His point is the pitiful waste, which, by throwing the provisions about, makes the precious stores οὐτιδανά.

363-8. A difficult and corrupt passage. M reads:—

δμῳίδες δὲ καινοπήμονες νέαι  
τλήμονες εὐνὰν αἰχμάλωτον  
ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχοῦντος ὥς  
δυσμενοῦς ὑπερτέρου  
ἐλπίς ἐστι νύκτερον τέλος μολεῖν,  
παγκλαύτων ἀλγέων ἐπίρροθον.

The general sense is obvious: the misery of the girls carried off to become slaves and concubines of the conqueror. So the schol. μεταστᾶσαι εἰς δουλείαν οἴσουσι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων εὐνήν.

The earlier comm. (and Dindorf) put a full stop at ὑπερτέρου, and understood the last two lines, 'They hope for night to come, to help their wretchedness.' But, as Hermann rightly pointed out, νύκτερον τέλος must refer to the concubinage which is the main point: and so the sentence must run on.

We observe (1) the strange position of νέαι, (2) the absence of a verb to govern εὐνάν, (3) the violation of metre in τλήμονες where trochee is required, (4) the feeble repetition of sense in τλήμονες. All these things point to the strong probability that νέαι τλήμονες is a gloss or explanation of καινοπήμονες, which has crept into the text, and so ousted the verb which governed εὐνάν. [νέαι is omitted in Verrall, though perhaps accidentally.]

Perhaps the best suggestion is Hartung's (quoted in the critical notes), τλᾶσαν αἰχμάλωτον εὐνάν, and reading αἰς for ὥς in 365. We may then leave νέαι, and the first two lines will mean: 'And the young slaves, new to their misery, endured as captives the couch' [lit. 'the captive couch'] 'of their lord, for they must look to suffer the rites of the night, when the foe is master, the crown of their pitiful woes.'

τλᾶσαν is of course for ἔτλησαν: the whole picture is a *forecast* of the Chorus, and is vividly given as already come. [We might also read κῆδος ἡδύρον αἰχμάλωτον, where κῆδος would be used in the double sense of 'woe' and 'union.']

ἐπίρροθος is used in the Epic sense 'helper' (as Il. 4. 390 ἐπίρροθος ἦεν Ἀθήνη): there is a grim irony in saying that it 'helps' their woes, meaning 'makes them worse': as also in the use of τέλος, a stately expression more naturally used of regular marriage-rites.

[The Chorus cease singing: the leader of one half the Chorus speaks, and is answered by the leader of the other half.]

369. κατόπτῃς, 'the watchman,' i. e. the ἄγγελος who (66) promised to keep a look out.

371. πομπίμους χνόας ποδοῖν, 'the speeding joints' (lit. 'the

messenger-naves') 'of his feet.' A bold and almost grotesque metaphor, quite in the poet's manner.

χρόη is the nave or box in which the axle turns, and so is easily used of the joint of the ankle.

373. εἰς ἑρτίκολλον, 'at the right moment,' like εἰς καιρόν: the word means 'fitted or fastened exactly,' and is neuter, used like εἰς καλόν, &c.

374. M (and most recc.) reads οὐκ ἀπαρτίζει, G οὐ καταρτίζει. Neither verb makes any really satisfactory sense.

ἀπαρτίζω is only used intrans. in classical times, and only appears in Hippocrates and Aristotle. It means 'to fit, suit,' or 'to be complete.' Even if used transitive (as the existence of a passive use shows to be possible) it could only mean 'makes fit or complete.'

καταρτίζω is used by Herodotus in the sense 'to reduce to order.' So some comm. (Pauw, Pal., Herm.) understand the sense here 'haste disorders his step,' which is the best that can be made of it if we retain either of the MSS. readings.

But the phrase is exceedingly harsh, and I have adopted Weil's suggestion εὖ καταρτίζει, 'well orders,' i. e. makes active. We shall then render: 'And his step also eager haste makes nimble,' i. e. (more simply) 'he too is hurrying.'

[375-685. SECOND EPEISODION, Part I. In this long scene the messenger describes at length the warrior attacking each of the seven gates; and Eteokles replies with the name and description of the Theban champion he will oppose to him, the last pair being his brother and himself. Between each pair of speeches the Chorus interpose a short lyric (often a prayer) expressive of their fears and hopes.]

[Enter the messenger: and from the other side Eteokles with the six champions.]

375 sqq. For Euripides' satirical remark (Phoen. 751) on this long enumeration: 'Twere long delay to tell the name of each, when foes are camped beneath the very walls,' see Introduction, p. xxi.

The names of the gates are given with slight differences in Euripides, who has *Krenaian* for *Onkaian* gates (Theb. 487, Phoen. 1123), and *Ogygian* for *Borrhaian* (Theb. 527, Phoen. 1113). The order of warriors is also different.

381. The snake (which comes out more in the heat of the day) was supposed to be more dangerous then, and even to utter cries.

λελιμμένος: see 355.

382. Οἰκλείδην, *Amphiaraos*, son of Oikles, the seer, who was persuaded by his wife Eriphyle to join this expedition though he foreknew its fatal result. He also figures in the tales of the Kalydonian hunt and the Argonauts.

383. σαίνειν, 'that' (instead of facing death and battle) 'he fawns on Death and Battle,' feebly tries to avert their onset:

an imaginative and expressive word; so 704. ἀψυχία, 'from cowardice,' as 259.

384. Aristophanes quotes comically τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους of Lamachus, Ach. 965.

385. τῷ: Epic for αὐτῷ, see 509, 1070. 'And beneath his shield he hath bronze-wrought bells, ringing forth terror.' This fine line is imitated in Rhesus 308, where the head-bands of Rhesus' horses have a Gorgon attached, with many bells—

πολλοῖσι σὺν κώδωσιν ἐκτύπει φόβον.

388. φλέγον<sup>Α</sup> ὑπ' ἄστροις = lit. 'blazing beneath the stars,' poet. variation for 'bright with stars': the stars shine above and light up the οὐρανός.

390. πρέσβιστον (rarer form for πρεσβύτατον, Hom. hymn. 30, 2, and twice in Soph. Frag.), 'first,' in honour rather than in age, though both are possible. So Aeschylus uses πρέσβος Πέρσαις, 'reverend in the eyes of Persians,' Pers. 623; and πρεσβεύω always in that sense, Eum. I, 21; Ag. 1300; Cho. 631, &c.

391. ἀλύων with σαγαῖς, 'thus in the madness of his proud armour.'

393. 'Like a horse panting against the bit in his fury.' χαλινῶν is governed by the verb, as the κατα- requires; not by μένει, as in Ag. 238 χαλινῶν ἀναύδῃ μένει. So we have Eum. 651 (a parallel though not identical passage) οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων μένει.

394. The correction κλύων for the MSS. μένων or μένει (due to confusion with the last line) is not only in itself exactly what is wanted, but was suggested and is strongly supported by the schol., ὡς καὶ ἵππος πολεμιστῆς σάλπιγγος ἀκούων.

395. πυλῶν might be gen. after κλήθρων or προστατεῖν; but the latter is more probable.

396. φερέγγυος, lit. 'bearing a pledge,' so 'trusty,' 'safe,' the infinitive giving the point in respect of which he is to be trusted.

398. Blomfield aptly quotes the (imaginary) speech of Papirius to encourage the Romans against the Samnites (Liv. 10. 39), 'Non enim cristas vulnera. facere: et per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum.'

400. νύκτα ταύτην, 'As to this Night . . .' Generally called accus. of respect, but it is fundamentally different from the typical examples of that, like ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμόν, τυφλὸς τὰ ὄτα, τὴν ψυχὴν εὖ πεφικώς, &c. It is better called the provisional acc., put at the beginning of the sentence to indicate the thing spoken of, where the end of the sentence may either contain a verb which will bring the acc. into regimen, or as here take a different turn and leave it hanging. Others treat it as an attraction due to the case of the relative: but this I believe is rarely, if ever, the truth, for such attraction, if it existed, ought to be found with other cases than the acc. Cf. τάσδε δ' ἄσπερ εἰσὸρᾶς . . . χωροῦσι, Trach. 283; τὸν



ἄνδρα τοῦτον ὃν . . . ζητεῖς . . . οὗτός ἐστιν ἐνθάδε, O. T. 449: so Il. 10. 416; Ar. Plut. 200.

402. ἀνοία, 'his folly,' i. e. of ornamenting his arms with so arrogant a device. [Blomfield reads ἐννοία τινί, 'in a certain sense': an easier reading and construction, but too prosaic and feeble.] The long -ā for usual ā is noted in scholiast as an Atticism: so εὐκλείᾳ, 685; ἄγνοιά, Soph. Trach. 350; ἀνοιά, Frag. 715; Ἰφιγενείᾳ, Ag. 1526. So also Ar. Av. 604, Frag. 29. τινί means Tydeus, a common irony in threats, as in all languages: so κακὸν ἦκει τινί, Ar. Ran. 552; δώσει τις δίκην, id. ib. 554; ὁρῶ τιν' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καθεδούμενον, Plut. 382. 'His folly may prove true prophet to the fool.'

403. ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς: Epic use of prep. and dative of *rest* with verb of *motion*, common in Aeschylus, and other poets: ἐπὶ πύργοις ἔβαλες, Ag. 357; ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πέμπει, ib. 61; φέρουσ' ἐν ἡμῖν, ib. 1450. So without prep. βάτε δόμῳ, Eum. 1033. In this line there is a clear reference to the common Homeric formula for death, especially in battle, 'darkness covered his eyes,' τὸν δὲ σκότος ὅσσε κάλυψεν.

405. ἐπώνυμον, 'true to its name,' i. e. a veritable night. The σῆμα or blazon on the shield was a picture of Night (390): and to him it should be the Night of Death. See 536.

406. τήνδ' ὕβρι: a sort of cognate acc., 'shalt make this insolent prophecy': the ὕβρις describing the *spirit* and not the *substance* of the prophecy. The present μαντεύεται (the orig. reading of M corrected to the future by m) is perhaps more strictly logical, as the prophecy is now made: but the future is more natural, as it will only be known hereafter that the prophecy is against himself. And the readings of m have greater authority than M, as they are the contemporary corrections of the scholar revising the work of the scribe.

407. Ἀστακοῦ τόκον: Melanippos, 414. So Hdt. 5. 67.

409. Αἰσχύνη, 'shame,' in a good sense, which makes a man shun disgraceful deeds or boastful words. 'Honour' (Pal.) is the best single word: in this sense it is very nearly the same as αἰδώς. The schol. remarks simply that the poet 'has well opposed [to Tydeus] a man of opposite character.'

411. αἰσchrῶν γὰρ ἄργός, 'for he is slow to deeds of shame.'

412. σπαρτοί, 'the sown men,' were the warriors who sprang up from the teeth of the dragon slain by Kadmos on the site of the future Thebes. These warriors fought till five alone were left, the ancestors of the Theban race. This hero was therefore an 'autochthon' of Thebes, of the highest possible origin: see 415.

413. ῥίζωμ' ἀνέϊται, 'his stock is sprung.'

414. 'War with his dice shall decide the issue,' with the poet's usual bold and forcible imagery.

415. κάρτα with ὁμαίμων (adj. nom. sing.), 'Tis indeed the right of kin that sends him forth to ward from the mother that bare him,' &c., seeing that he was sprung from the soil in an emphatic



sense: 'not one of the strangers who came with Kadmos' as the schol. says.

[*Melanippos goes out.*]

417. The Chorus pray for success to their champion; but express their fears lest he be slain.

ἄμός: Doric for ἡμέτερος, constantly used for 'mine': here either 'mine' or 'ours' will do, but in the mouth of the Chorus 'ours' is probably the meaning.

420. ὑπὲρ φίλων ὀλομένων, 'of men slain for their friends.' The plural is *generalizing*, as only Melanippos is meant. Notice the omission of τῶν (with the part.) as often in Epic. So μόριμον λάχος πιπλάντων, Cho. 360; παραβᾶσιν, Ag. 59; πρασσομένα . . . τίοντας, ib. 706. [The first schol. in M says rather obscurely οὗς ποιοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων πολιτῶν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, and Wecklein suggests στόνους for μόρους to suit this explanation; but αἱματηφόρους is then far less forcible, and the Chorus would dread *the death* of the defenders, not the *lamentations* for their death. The schol. probably mistook the construction, and supposed φίλων to agree with ὀλομένων.]

424. ἄλλος in the idiomatic Greek use: 'a giant he, mightier than the first.' Compare ἅμα τῇγε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι κίον ἄλλαι, 'handmaids also,' Od. 6. 84; οὐ χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον, 'no grass nor tree either,' Xen. An. 1. 5. 5. There is some grim irony in the phrase. For Tydeus was (as schol. reminds us) 'short of stature but a man of war,' μικρὸς ἦν δέμας ἀλλὰ μαχητής, Il. 5. 801.

425. οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονεῖ, 'too proud for a mortal.'

428-9. οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς ἔριν . . . σχεθεῖν (M). This passage has been suspected (1) because ἔριν seems an unlikely word, (2) because ἄν seems to be wanted, (3) because the object of σχεθεῖν is wanting.

(1) ἔριν is suspected because the comm. think some word like 'bolt' is required, quoting Eur. Phoen. 1175 (of the same boast of Kapanews) μηδ' ἂν τὸ σεμνὸν πῦρ νιν εἰργάθειν Διός, and also the schol. who explains it as τὸν τοῦ Διὸς σκηπτῶν.

But ἔρις, 'Strife,' is a well-known figure in the Iliad, and is called (4. 441) 'the comrade and sister of murderous Ares,' and may therefore be called τὴν Διός. Further, the 'fire' or 'bolt' of Zeus is just *not* required here, as it is mentioned next line. Lastly, the schol. clearly had the present reading, as the full note is οὐδὲ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς σκηπτῶν εἰς γῆν κατενεχθέντα, ἣ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διὸς φιλονακήσαντος, ἐμποδῶν γενέσθαι αὐτῷ λέγει. The second explanation clearly points to ἔριν: and the first is only a general paraphrase of the passage taken as a whole.

(2) The use of *aor.* (or sometimes *present*, see 749) for future, after verbs of *confidence*—promising, hoping, prophecy, expecting, and the like, is quite a common poet. use from Homer downwards. πολλάκι γάρ οἱ ἔειπε . . . νοῦσφ' ὑπ' ἀργαλὴ φθίσθαι, Il. 13. 666; φημὶ τελευτηθῆναι ἅπαντα, Od. 2. 171; μαντευομένη μοῦχρησεν . . . ἀπο-

σκληῖναι, Ar. Vesp. 160; εἰ δοκεῖς με τλῆναι ('expect me to'), Eur. Or. 1527; ταύτην νόμιζε . . . χρόνῳ ποτὲ . . . πεσεῖν, Soph. Ai. 1082. [The latter has strangely been interpreted as *gnomic*, a use necessarily confined to *indic.*] See further below, on 615.

See Riddell's Digest, § 81. (I do not quote the numerous Thucydides examples, as they can so easily be emended from -σασθαι to -σεσθαι.)

(3) The omission of 'him' is not a serious objection, where the sense is so clear.

It follows that the suspicions of the text are baseless, and emendation needless. I accordingly retain the MSS. reading, and translate, 'Nor should Strife, the daughter of Zeus, lighting on the earth in his path, restrain him.'

429. πέδοι, loc. for MSS. πέδω, Dind. The locative ought probably to be restored in all such places, e.g. Ag. 1357, Eum. 263, 479, Cho. 48, &c. In Prom. 274 the MSS. give πέδοι.

433. ὦπλισμένη: bold use where the part. is transferred from the *man* to the *torch*: so *navis excussa magistro*, Aen. 6. 353.

435. 'Against so fierce a warrior send — Who shall meet him?' Dramatic break of the sentence.

436. M reads κομπάσαντα, which there is no need to alter, as it refers to a particular boast: 'who shall await unaffrighted one that hath uttered the boast?' [lit. 'after boasting,' i.e. that he would sack the city, &c., 428]. Most edd. and MSS. give κομπάζοντα, also read by a late corrector of M.

437. MSS. (and schol.) read καὶ τῷδε κέρδει κέρδος ἄλλο γίγνεται which has given rise to various strained interpretations. If sound, it could only mean, 'Against this advantage too [of the enemy, that Kapaneus' threats terrify us] another advantage is found' [for us, that the threats are impious and will be punished]. But the sense is given far more clearly and forcibly by reading (with Kock, Heimsoeth, Paley, and Wecklein) κόμπω. The confusion is not difficult, being due to 'anticipation' of κέρδος. Eteokles then says in effect, 'This boast is as good for our side as the κόμπος (391) of Tydeus' armour.'

438. τοι, the usual particle in lines of a gnomic or proverbial character, e.g. δράσαντι γάρ τοι καὶ παθεῖν ὀφείλεται, Fr. 268: also Ag. 922, 1001, 1014, &c.

441. 'And plying a rank tongue with vain triumph, he a mortal hurls up to heaven boisterous and swelling words against Zeus.' ἀπογυμνάζω, 'to exercise to the full' a bold word.

443. The adj. γεγωνός [formed somewhat like ἀγωγός] is found in Hesych., and the correction of the meaningless MS. γεγωνῆ is certain.

446. This line has been quite needlessly suspected: he refers to Kapaneus' boast (431), and says with simple irony that the thunder-bolt (which Kapaneus had compared to the 'noon-day heat') was 'nowise like' thereto.

447. ἐπ' αὐτῷ, 'against him' as frequently: ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Ag. 61, 363; ἐπ' ἀνδρί, Cho. 627, 999, &c. See note on 403. στόμαργος, 'braggart,' is Kapaneus.

448. αἴθων λῆμα, 'fiery in spirit.'

Πολυφόντου βία: this Epic periphrasis for 'the mighty Polyphontes' is very common in this play: see 569, 571, 577, 620, 641.

449-50. φερέγγυον φρούρημα, 'trusty guard': the use of the verbal noun (though from intrans. verb) being a poetic idiom: so μείλιγμα, Ag. 1439; κήδευμα, Soph. O. T. 85; δοῦλευμα, Antig. 756; λάλημα, ib. 320; οἰκούρημα, Eur. Or. 928.

προστατηρίας . . . θεῶν, 'by favour of Artemis his protectress, and with help of the other gods.' εὐνοίαισι, *plural*, is an Epic use, αἰδρέησι νόοιο, ἧς ὑπεροπλιησι, ἧσιν ἀτασθαλίησιν, &c.: see 351. The schol. says Polyphontes was priest of Artemis, and Thebes was specially under her protection.

Some late MSS. have the end of this line corrected into σύν τ' ἄλλων θεῶν, 'and likewise (σύν adverb.) of the other gods,' which makes a rather smoother construction. But the variation of phrase in the reading given above is not unlike the usage of poetry: so it is perhaps better retained, though it is certainly true that if Aeschylus wrote σύν τ' ἄλλων θεῶν, the chances are that in our MSS. it would have been altered to the dative. The schol. explains it as . . . τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων . . . θεῶν: but this is in either case the sense, and is inconclusive as to the reading.

[Polyphontes goes out.]

454-6. πωλικῶν θ' ἰδωλίων <μ> ὑπερκόπῳ δορί ποτ' ἐκλαπάξαι, 'and from our maiden chambers with conquering spear drive us violently forth.' ἐκλαπάξω, variant of the regular Epic word ἐξαλαπάξω for 'sacking' a city, is here used by a not unnatural extension with the *spoil* or *captives* as the object. I adopt Hermann's insertion of μ': the phrase is too harsh without it.

457. This line is probably an addition; though, as it is known to the schol., it is an old one. It was added by a critic who did not perceive that λέξω is the direct answer to line 452, the intervening song having misled him. The line is dubious (1) as being intolerably weak, (2) as having no caesura, (3) πρὸς πύλαις, construction awkward. The caesura is occasionally absent in Aeschylus' lines (Pers. 251, 469, Eum. 26, &c.): but often for the sake of metrical effect, as Prom. 6 ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμῶν ἐν ἀρρήκτοις πέδαις; Prom. 113 ἵπαιθρίοις δεσμοῖς πεπασσαλευμένους.

460. προσβαλεῖν λόχον, 'to bring up his force.'

461. ἐν ἀμπυκτῆρσιν ἐμβριμωμένas, 'fretting in their head-bands.' ἐμβριμωμένas is usually translated 'snorting,' which it may very well mean when applied to horses: the root-meaning seems to be 'anger,' or 'an angry noise.' The simple verb βριμήσαιο in Ar. Eq.

855 seems to mean 'growl' (Suidas, βριμήσαιο ὀργισθείης· βριμάζων τῇ τοῦ λέοντος χρώμενος φωνῇ).

462. πρὸς πύλαις πεπτωκέναι, 'to rush upon the gates': the perf. πεπτωκέναι is here vivid, 'to be at the gates,' as we might say. The dat. πύλαις, where prose would have acc., is really Epic usage, like βαλλόμενος ποτὶ γαίῃ, &c. See note on 403.

463. φιμοί are 'mouth-bands' fitted with hollow cylinders (αὐλοί), on the nostrils apparently, through which the horses' breath whistled: Frag. 330 φιμοῖσιν αὐλωτοῖσιν.

The MSS. reading is βάρβαρον τρόπον, 'in savage fashion,' the strange and rich trappings of horses being like Asiatics. The schol. however has ἀπηνῆ ἤχον, 'a harsh noise,' whence Schütz conjectures βρόμον for τρόπον, which much improves the line, especially as we have τρόπον again two lines further on. (Prien's νόμον, 'strain,' is also worth considering, though βρόμον is nearer the MS. and better.)

465. ἐσχημάτισται, 'is adorned,' i.e. with a device, a better and richer word than Weil's conjecture σεσημάτισται, which is unknown to classical writers. M has εἰσημάτισται which a later hand has corrected.

466. προσαμβάσεις: acc. of *motion along*, like ὁδὸν πορεύεσθαι, &c. -αμβ- for -αναβ-, Epic syncope, common with this preposition in Tragedy: cf. ἐπαντέλλω, ἀμπέμπω, ἐπαμβατήρ, ἀνδαίω, &c.

468. χούτος, 'he too,' like Kapaneus.

ξυλλαβαί, 'bands' of letters: the word has not yet acquired its technical meaning 'syllable.'

471. ἀπείργειν with φερέγγυν (396), 'trusty to ward off.'

472. σὺν τύχῃ δέ τῳ, 'and with good hap': i.e. he is the right man, and will win. Eteokles continues, 'See, he is sent forth with his boast in his strong hands,' i.e. not on his shield.

M reads πέπεμπτ' οὐ κόμπων, and the other MSS. also read οὐ, with various corruptions of πέπεμπτ'. But, as Erfurdt pointed out, the οὐ is due to a misunderstanding of the phrase, which is far finer as above explained; and the impossible elision of -αι is thus got rid of. Some read 'πέπεμπτ' (plup.): but the tense will not suit.

474. The man is a foremost champion, being one of the native race of σπαρτοί: see 412.

477. τροφεῖα: lit. 'the price of nurture,' the debt which the child owed to his parents, and this 'sown' warrior therefore to his mother 'earth.' 'But either he shall die, and pay the son's debt to his native earth.'

478. 'Or shall destroy two warriors and the fortress on the shield, and deck his father's house with the spoils.' The 'two men' are Eteokles, and the painted warrior, as the schol. explains. The ordinary prose Attic would require τὸ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος: but Aeschylus frequently adopts the Epic fashion of omitting the article. So Ag. 59 παραβᾶσιν for τοῖς παραβᾶσιν; ib. 706 τὸ νυμφύτιμον μέλος τίοντας



for τοὺς τὸ νυμφότιμον μέλος τίνοντας; ib. 324 τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ κρατησάντων for τῶν κρατησάντων, &c. See 420.

[Megareus goes out.]

480. 'Now boast of another, stint me not thy words.' With a sort of exultant playfulness, he treats the messenger's report of the enemy, and his own prompt rejoinders, as if there were a kind of match between the two. [The MSS. λέγων might stand: but Valckenaers' λόγων is more forcible and natural, and is supported by schol., τῶν ἀλαζονειῶν.]

481. This line does not correspond in M with 521, though there is no obscurity or serious corruption in either. Some emend one, some the other, some both: none convincingly. I adopt τῷδε (read by a late MS.) for δὴ τάδε here; and in 521 I have taken Robortello's conjecture δῆ after πέποιθα. 'I pray for him to find prosperity, thou champion of my home: but for my foes, disaster!'

483. βάζουσιν, regular Epic word for 'speak,' 'utter.' πεπνυμένα βάζειν, εὖ βάζειν, ἀνερμῶλια βάζειν, ἄρτια βάζειν, &c.

485. νεμέτωρ, 'the awarder,' i.e. the judge and punisher: cf. νέμεσις. ἐπίδοι, 'look on,' i.e. 'visit' with punishment.

486. Schol. takes it to mean 'the next gate (to Neistai), the gate of Onka Athena': but it is simpler to take Ὀγκας gen. after γείτονας, 'the gate close to (the shrine of) Onka Athena,' which was just outside the wall (ἀγχιπτόλις, 501) and gave its name to the πύλαι Ὀγκαΐαι. Notice the Doric forms Ὀγκας Ἀθάνας.

Onka, a Theban goddess identified with Pallas, see 164. The schol. has a story that Kadmos was sent by his father Agenor the Phoenician to search for Europa, and not finding her went to Delphi to ask where he should settle. The god told him to follow what he should find when he went out; he found a cow and followed her to Thebes, where she fell down. Kadmos offered the cow to Athena, by the Egyptian title of Onka.

487. παρίσταται, 'takes his post,' the verb being often used of 'standing beside to defend.'

488. Ἰππομέδοντος, with second syll. long *metri grat.* So Παρθένοπαῖος, 547; φαῖοῦχιτῶνες, Cho. 1049; Ἀλφῆσιβοίαν, Soph. Frag. 785.

The licence is more easily accepted because in Epic a short vowel is frequently lengthened before a liquid, spirant, or aspirate, e.g. Δία λίσαι, ἐνὶ μεγάροισι, ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι, αἰόλος ὄφης. Accordingly Porson's μέγ' Ἰππομέδοντος σχῆμα is quite needless. 'The form and mighty mould of Hippomedon,' a periphrasis like the Epic βίη Ἡρακλεΐη. σχῆμα refers to beauty, and μέγας τύπος to size, as the scholiast saw: a further objection to Porson's emendation.

489. ἄλω δὲ πολλήν, 'the wide ring,' picturesque word for the orb of his shield. πολλή used as in πολλὰ κέλευθος, 'a wide space to traverse,' Soph. O. C. 162. The word (our 'halo') is the same as the Epic ἀλώη, and is used by Xenophon in the same sense



'threshing-floor': by later writers as 'a coiled snake' or 'a halo': all coming from the vaguer sense 'ring.' The schol. is clearly wrong in saying that 'halo' is the oldest sense.

490. δινήσαντος, 'as he whirled it': gen. either after the nouns, or better absol. Others less well take it intrans.

492. ὤπασεν, 'added,' i. e. 'fashioned upon it.' (Epic word.)

493. Τυφῶνα. Aeschylus uses both the forms Τυφῶς (gen. -ω) and Τυφῶν (gen. -ῶνος). He is a giant, in Epic Typhoeus, son of Tartaros and Gaia (Hes. Th. 821), a fire-spitting monster with 100 heads who fights Zeus, till the latter with lightning and thunder slays him and hurls him into Tartaros. In Homer Il. 2. 783 Zeus 'lashes the earth that lies on Typhoeus, in Arima.' Both stories are clearly volcanic myths.

494. αἰόλην πυρὸς κάσιν, 'the flickering sister of fire,' imaginative and characteristic expression, finer and less eccentric than the similar κάσις πηλοῦ ξύνουρος διψία κόνις, Ag. 494. See note on 351.

495-6. 'And the circling plate of the hollow-centred orb is made fast to coiling snakes,' the περιδρομον κύτος κοιλογάστορος κύκλον being simply a full-mouthed and effective phrase for the solid bulging shield itself: the middle apparently was wrought into the Typhon-head, and the rim had open work of snakes to represent his hair.

προσεδαφίζω (from ἔδαφος, 'basement,' 'ground') seems to mean 'is fastened as a basement to.'

The κύτος will be the whole outside of the shield, itself no doubt slightly curved, with the special bulge in the centre.

497. αὐτὸς δ': Hippomedon.

498. βακχῇ πρὸς ἀλκῇν, 'raves furious for battle.' ἀλκή, regular Homeric word for the 'might' of battle.

Θυιάς [θύ-ω, 'rage'], 'a Thyiad,' lit. 'a furious woman,' always used of Bacchanals. The MSS. read φόβον βλέπων, 'looking terror,' i. e. 'with terrible glance,' which there is perhaps no absolute need to alter; Canter however reads φόνον, to avoid the repetition, as φόβος recurs line 500; and on the whole this is preferable. See above, note on 45, where the origin of this confusion is given.

500. 'For already at the gates the vaunt of terror is heard' [lit. terror is being vaunted], i. e. the foe is boasting how he will scare the Thebans. Various emendations are proposed, but none are needed, and all rather enfeeble the line.

501. ἦτ', Epic rel. 'The city's neighbour, hard by the gates.' Again there is no need to alter, the repetition being of a natural kind.

503. εἶρξει νεοσσῶν, 'shall bar him as from her brood a cruel snake,' the goddess being conceived, after the poet's abruptly imaginative manner, as a mother eagle defending her young. The image of the struggle between a snake and an eagle is a favourite one in poetry; Il. 12. 201; Soph. Antig. 115. The word δύσχιμος means 'cruel,' 'rough,' 'violent,' 'wild,' and is applied to wind,

*floods, deserts and mountains*, and here to *snakes*: formerly derived from  $\chi\iota$ - ( $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$ ,  $\chi\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon\eta$ ), which suits some places, but not this passage. Moreover - $\chi\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$  appears also in  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , which cannot be connected with  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$ .

505.  $\kappa\alpha\tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ , 'to match this foe':  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$  is literally '*at*,' and is often used of enemies facing each other in battle,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha} \Lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\tau\omicron$ , Xen. Hell. 4. 2. 18;  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu \tau\omicron \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha} \sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , Thuc. 6. 70.

506.  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\iota \mu\omicron\iota\rho\alpha\nu \epsilon\nu \chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha \tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\varsigma$ , 'wishing to learn his doom in the stress of fortune,' a rather strained phrase but forcible. The  $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha \tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\varsigma$  is the heat of the battle where every man takes his chance.

507.  $\sigma\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\nu$ , 'manner': i.e. both their form and their condition.

508. 'And well hath Hermes brought them together': Hermes is the god of Luck (called  $\epsilon\rho\iota\upsilon\acute{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$ , 'the much-profitng,' Ar. Ran. 1144), and hence 'a stroke of luck' was called  $\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ .

509.  $\tau\hat{\omega}$ : Epic use for  $\hat{\omega}$ , common in Aeschylus, e.g. Ag. 526, 642; Theb. 385, 1070.

$\epsilon\chi\theta\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  has its regular signification here of 'a private foe.'

510.  $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , Zeus and Typhon, ancient foes from the time of the quarrel between Zeus and the giants, see note on 493.

513.  $\sigma\tau\alpha\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ , 'firm,' i.e. on his throne.

$\delta\iota\acute{\alpha} \chi\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma \phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\nu$ : lit. 'burning his dart in his hand,' an effective variation for 'holding a blazing dart.'

514.  $\pi\omicron\nu$  of MSS. need not be changed (with Elmsley, Dind., Weckl., &c.) to  $\tau\omicron\nu$ .

515. 'Such in truth is the favour of the Powers,' i.e. to either side, Zeus to us, Typhos to him:  $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\acute{\nu}\omega\nu$  covering both the god and the monster. (Typhon, Typhos, Typhoeus, all occur in poets.)

A difficulty has been needlessly made about  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\iota$ , which is used in its *confirmative* sense, especially common in such *summaries* after narrative, e.g. Ag. 886  $\tau\omicron\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\iota \sigma\kappa\eta\psi\iota\varsigma \omicron\upsilon \delta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\nu \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota$ : Soph. O. C. 997  $\tau\omicron\iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\iota \kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta\nu \kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ .

518. M reads  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \gamma\epsilon \pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\nu$ , corrected by later hand to  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \delta\acute{\epsilon} \pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\nu$ , which later MSS. have, the  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  no doubt being right. But the line makes no sense in this place: and the editors have generally either rearranged the last four lines, or marked them spurious, or both. Brunck, following two later MSS., inverts the order of 518-9. With this rearrangement (followed by Dindorf and others) the sense is good, reading the lines  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \tau\hat{\omega}\nu \dots \epsilon\acute{\iota} \text{Zeús} \dots \epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \delta\acute{\epsilon} \dots \Upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\acute{\iota}\omega \tau\epsilon \dots \sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho \dots$ : and this I have accordingly adopted. But another alteration is required, viz. to read  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\iota \kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  for  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\iota\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$ : for (1)  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$  much improves the sense [as Zeus is stronger than Typhoeus, 'it is likely the *men* too who fight should fare likewise'], (2)  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  always takes aorist or present infin. and never the future: see Soph. El. 1026; Eur. Hipp. 615, 1434; Iph. Taur. 903: so also  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$ , Thuc. I. 81, where see Classen's

collection of instances. I have therefore read πράξαι, and adopted Pauw's suggestion κάνδρας. It must however be confessed that the unique word προσφίλεια, the phrase πρὸς λόγον τοῦ σήματος, and the diffuseness of 516-20, throw some suspicion on the lines.

519. πρὸς λόγον: rather stiff phrase for 'in accordance with': lit. 'in view of the meaning of.'

[*Hyperbios goes out.*]

521. ἀντίτυπον, 'opposed,' agrees with ἀφίλον δέμας. The idea of the word is probably 'striking hard against,' as in Antig. 134 ἀντιτύπα δ' ἐπὶ γὰρ πέσει.

522. χθονίου, for Typhon like the Titans was a nether power, sprung out of the earth.

523. MSS. read δαίμοσιν and βροτοῖσί τε, the first spoiling the sense and the second the (dochmiac) metre. Brunck restored δαίμονος and βροτοῖς. The schol. has τὸν ἐχθρὸν Διὸς δαίμονα, showing that he read δαίμονος.

525. κεφαλὰν ἰάσειν, 'will cast away his head,' bold phrase, as of a man rushing on his doom.

526. πέμπτον: Parthenopaios. See 547, and note on 533.

528. Διογενεὺς: *Amphion*, son of Zeus and Antiope, with his brother Zethos, attacked Thebes and took it, and slew the king. They then fortified it, Amphion drawing the stones together by the music of his lyre (*movit Amphion lapides canendo*). He thus was considered a sort of second founder of the city.

529. αἰχμήν ἣν ἔχει, 'by the spear which he holds,' the regular acc. after ὀμνυμι.

530. σέβειν πεποιθώς, 'bold to revere it,' an unusual but forcible phrase, not requiring emendation: the inf. is used as though after τολμῶν. Paley's σέβων πεποιθώς τ' is at first sight easier, but not really so effective.

ὀμμάτων: the eye was proverbially used for anything extremely precious: Pindar calls the *family of Thero* Σικελίας ὀφθαλμός, Ol. 2. 18; *good news* is ἀελπτον ὄμμα φήμης, Soph. Tr. 203; *wealth* is ὄμμα φαεννότατον ξένοισι, Pind. Pyth. 5. 51; *the hope of the house* is ὀφθαλμός οἴκων, Cho. 934.

532. Διός, repeating the general boast of line 47, with a special and significant turn given to it by addition of Διός, 'in despite of Zeus.' Some correct to δορός, which Robortello and afterwards Hermann adopted from three later MSS. (G and two others): but this is plainly a conjecture, and a feeble one: the unexpected carrying-on of the sense after βία is only tolerable if the word is itself a strong and startling one. Moreover Διός is needed: the boast is called 'impious' (551), which δορός would hardly justify.

μητρός: Atalante, daughter of Iasos, who exposed her on the hills because he wanted a son: she was suckled by a she-bear, and grew up the huntress maiden. Several names are mentioned as

the *father* of Parthenopaios: but the point of Aeschylus' story is that he was 'the maiden's son,' i.e. that his birth was mysterious, and the father unknown.

533. καλλιπρῶρος, 'fair of face'; the word 'prow' used with a bold metaphor from a ship. So Soph. Trach. 12, describing the river-god Acheloos, calls him ἀνδρείφ κύτει βούπρῳρος, 'with hull of man and prow of bull,' i.e. 'bull-headed with man's trunk.' The nautical metaphors are the commonest of all in Greek.

ἀνδρόπαις, 'the boy-man,' 'boy-like, yet a man.'

535. ὥρας φουούσης, 'as his fresh youth puts it (the hair) forth.'

ταρφύς, fem., as ἡδύς, θήλυς, πουλύς, are used fem. in Homer.

536. παρθένων ἐπώνυμον, 'true to his maiden name,' ἐπώνυμον meaning 'rightly named after,' the rarer and more developed sense of the adj., which more often means simply 'named after.' See 405.

538. ἀκόμπαστος, 'without proud device.'

539. The Sphinx is 'the reproach of the city,' because the citizens were unable to get rid of the monster: the schol. absurdly refers ὄνειδος to Oedipus' guilt.

540. 'His shield, the body's orb'd defence': in the stately grandiloquent style so noticeable in this speech.

541. προσμεμηχανημένην γόμφοις, 'fastened thereto with rivets,' the ornament being separately made and rivetted on.

542. λαμπρὸν ἔκκρουστον δέμας, 'a bright embossed figure,' what we now call repoussé work, metal hammered out.

543. ὑφ' αὐτῇ: as a beast or bird of prey with its victim.

The Egyptian Sphinx was a male monster with human head: the Phoenician and Greek form seems to have been female, and often with wings. So Soph. O. T. 506 calls her πτερόεσσα κόρα; Eur. Phoen. 1024 describes her φοιτάσι πτεροῖς χαλαίσι τ' ὤμοσίτοις. And many specimens in various materials have been found in Greece having wings. See Jebb's appendix to his edition of O. T.

544. ὥς πλείστ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἰάπτεσθαι βέλη, 'so that a storm of darts are hurled at this man': the only question is whether ἀνὴρ ὅδε is Parthenopaios or the pictured Theban. It is far simpler and better to take it of the former: Parthenopaios' boldness in bearing the insolent device brings a rain of spears upon him. [Hermann's strange attempt to take ὥς with πλείστα, instead of with the verb, is very harsh: Verrall's διαπτέσθαι is not happy where the point is the *converging* missiles.] ὥς for ὥστε, Epic use, common in poets.

545. οὐ καπηλεύσειν μάχην, 'to be no huckster of the fight,' i.e. to fight on a grand scale: a bold and effective image, finely, though in another sense, imitated by Ennius (of Pyrrhus, Cic. Off. 1. 12. 38) *nec cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes*.

546. 'Will not shame his long journey's course,' i.e. will do some deed worthy of the long distance he has come (from Argos, where he lived, see inf.).

547-9. 'Parthenopaios of Arcadia: and he, so noble a man,



lives a stranger (at Argos), but repaying her for her fair nurture, now threatens these ramparts such fate as I pray God may avert.'

These lines have been suspected by several comm. (Wolf, Dindorf, Weil, Hartung, Verrall) on various grounds, e. g. (1) that 548 and 550 (repeated with slight variation from 47) are rather poor; (2) that *μακρὰς κελεύθου* refers to Arcadia, and therefore Aeschylus is *not* adopting the story that Parthenopaios was reared in Argos, which is found in Eur. Supp. 888; (3) that the long *ε* in Parthenopaios is unlikely.

But (1) there are in this scene many such repetitions; (2) *μακρὰ κελεύθος* simply refers to Argos; (3) for the long *ε* see note on 488. Moreover, all the heroes have their names given, and it is unlikely the poet would *only hint* (537) at Parthenopaios; and the passage is confirmed by Euripides (Supp. l. c.), who is very unlikely to use the licence *Παρθενοπαῖος* except as a direct reference to this place; and, lastly, *ὃν λέγεις τὸν Ἀρκάδα* (553) is unnatural unless the *ἄγγελος* had mentioned Arcadia.

550. *εἰ γάρ*, a *wish*, as regularly in Epic (see note on 260). *πρὸς θεῶν*, 'from the gods,' with *τύχοιεν*.

551. 'In those very impious boasts,' with *φρονούσι. αὐτοῖς*, because the point of the wish is that the very destruction Parthenopaios boasts may befall himself and his troop. [This is more forcible than to put 551 after 552 and translate 'with those impious boasts and all.']

553. *ὃν λέγεις τὸν Ἀρκάδα*, 'the Arcadian of whom thou tellest,' *τὸν Ἀρκάδα* being attracted into the relative clause (as frequently happens), and therefore accusative.

554. 'A man of no vaunt, but his hand forbodeth deeds,' a bold but picturesque expression, like *ἀνέρα . . . ὀρῶντ' ἀλκάν*, Pind. O. 9. 165. The acc. is a kind of cognate, and the phrases literally mean 'looks energy,' 'looks might,' like the commoner *δεινὸν ὀρᾶν*, *ὄξυ ὀρᾶν*, &c.

557. 'To flow within the gates and foster ills,' *ρέω* and *ἀλδαίνω* containing the same metaphor.

558. MSS. read *εἰσαμείψαι θηρὸς ἐχθίστου δάκους*, where the double genitive is very improbable, and *εἰσαμείψαι* wants an accus. The fact is *θηρὸς* is probably a gloss on *δάκους*, which is a favourite word of Aeschylus for 'beast,' 'monster' (*Ἀργεῖον δάκος*, Ag. 824; *δυσφιλὲς δάκος*, ib. 1232; *νεογενὲς δάκος*, Cho. 530, &c.), and the true word, an accus. after *ἐξαμείψαι*, has been ousted. Francken proposes *τείχος*, which I adopt. The sense will then be 'Nor that he should pass the rampart, bearing on his foeman's shield the hateful monster's image.'

560. MSS. read abruptly *ἐξῴθεν εἶσω κ. τ. λ.* Some suppose a lost line: but Porson's emendation *ἢ ἔωθεν* is quite satisfactory, *ἢ* referring to the *εἰκῶν* or Sphinx. 'She from without shall chide him who would bear her in, as she meets the hail of darts by the city



walls.' *ἔξωθεν*, 'from without the city': she refuses, as it were, to go in. *εἶσω* belongs to *τῷ φέροντι*.

562. M reads this line *θεῶν θελόντων δ' ἂν ἀληθεύσαιμ' ἐγώ*. The simplest alterations are *τᾶν* Elms., *κᾶν* Hart. I have taken the latter. 'If gods will, I may even prove true prophet,' where the 'even' is pious modesty—or irony.

[Headlam reads, most ingeniously, . . . *πτόλιν, θεῶν θελόντων ἀλλ' ἀληθεύσαιμ' ἐγώ*. Some prefer this: but *θεῶν θελόντων* at the end of a long sentence, is less naturally placed. Cf. 614.]

[*Aktor goes out.*]

563. *λόγος*, 'the tale,' i. e. of Parthenopaios' boasts.

564. Dindorf and Blomfield correct this to *καὶ τριχὸς ὄρθιος*, to correspond with antistrophe *ἡμετέρας τελεῖθ'*, 627; but the text here makes a good dochmiac, and further correspondence is probably needless.

565. M reads *κλύων*: but the *hair* would hardly be said *to hear*; and I prefer Hermann's *κλυούσα* (as also his corresponding emendation in the ant. 628). *κλυούσα* would easily become *κλύουσ'* (as two late MSS. have it), while it would also easily be corrected to *κλύων* (to agree with *πλόκαμος*) as M and the rest have.

567. *ἐν γᾶ*, 'in our land': the destruction is to be on the spot: let them die where they stand.

569. *Amphiaraos*: see 382. He is two gates off Tydeus, as the latter has the first, the former the sixth: and some conceive the city as being so small that these two gates are within speaking (or at least shouting) distance. But there is no need for this rather grotesque hypothesis.

571. *κακοῖσι βάζει πολλά*, 'utters many a word of reviling' against the mighty Tydeus. The construction is a little unusual, as *πολλὰ κακά* would be more natural: *κακοῖσι* is instrum. dat.

572. *ἄνδροφόντην*: Tydeus had fled to Argos from Kalydon in consequence of the murder of a kinsman or kinsmen: the names are differently reported: the schol. Med. gives them as Alkathoos and Lykauges, sons of Melas.

574. *Ἐρινύος κλητῆρα*, 'summoner of the curse,' imaginative expression for the man who brought destruction on the army and the leaders. The schol. refers it to Oedipus' curse on his sons, but Amphiaraos is certainly not thinking merely of Polyneikes' fate.

*πρόσπολον*, not merely 'servant' but 'minister' (schol. *ιερέα*): the metaphor is from the temple service, which makes the expression far finer. So *πρόσπολοι*, Eum. 1024.

576. M reads *προσμόραν ἀδελφεόν*, all the others *πρόσμορον* or (one) *πρὸς μόρον*. The first word is clearly corrupt, and the second is suspected, as it is the only instance of the Epic form *ἀδελφεός* in Iambic lines. [The Doric *ἀδελφεός* occurs in *lyrics* below 976: but

this of course is natural.] The suggestions are numerous, but follow two main lines:

(1) Dobree suggests that πρὸς μόραν contains πατρὸς μόρον. The contraction of πατρὸς to πρὸς is particularly common in M, and in Soph. O. T. 1100 this same MS. reads προσπelasθεῖσα where Lachmann restored πατρὸς πελασθεῖς. Dobree accordingly reads καὶ τὸν σὸν αὐτ' ἀδελφὸν ἐς πατρὸς μόρον, which Paley adopts: Hermann modifying the suggestion to καὶ τὸν σὸν αὐθις ἐς πατρὸς μοῖραν κάσιν. The real difficulty however is that the sense and construction are so unnatural.

(2) Hermann (originally), Wellauer, Weil, Hartung, and Wecklein take προσμόραν to be a corruption of ὁμόςπορον, and ἀδελφεόν a corrupt gloss on this. The gloss was supposed to be ἀδελφόν; then was taken up into the text and became ὁμόςπορον ἀδελφόν, and altered to πρόσμορον ἀδελφεόν, ousting the word after αὐθις.

There are many difficulties here: why should ὁμόςπορον require a gloss? why should it be so violently corrupted? how could the Attic ἀδελφόν get altered to the Epic ἀδελφεόν?

I incline to believe ἀδελφεόν sound, the Epic forms being so numerous in Aeschylus. And the word before it must be a participle, as the run of the sentence almost demands. Hartung suggests λοιδορῶν: but Francken's προσθροῶν is nearer the MS., and better; it occurs P. V. 595.

577. ἐξυπτιάξω ὄμμα (Schütz's correction for the impossible ὄνομα of the MSS.): lit. 'throwing back his eyes,' i. e. 'uplifting' them in scorn or horror.

578. ἐν τελευτῇ, 'at the last,' i. e. as a final taunt.

ἐνδατούμενος. This word properly means 'to divide,' and is used by Attic poets in the sense of 'to dwell upon,' 'to tell.' Thus we have Aesch. Fr. 350 (restored from a quotation by Plato, Rep. 383 A) ὁ δ' ἐνδατεύεται τὰς ἐμὰς εὐπαιδίας, 'Apollo tells of my noble children': Trach. 791 τὸ δυσπάρεινον λέκτρον ἐνδατούμενος, 'telling of his ill-starred bridal': O. T. 205 τὰ σὰ βέλεα θέλοιμ' ἂν ἐνδατεῖσθαι, 'I fain would tell of thy shafts' [here Jebb and others take it 'I would thy shafts should be scattered,' 'go abroad': but the deponent ἐνδατεῖσθαι is very unlikely to be used passive]. In Eur. H. F. 218 λόγους ὀνειδιστῆρας ἐνδατούμενος, we have a use rather nearer to the original meaning 'repeating taunting words.' So here the meaning is 'twice repeating his name,' significantly calling him Πολύνεικες πολύνεικες, 'Polyneikes man of strife.'

580. καὶ is emphatic. 'Is such a deed in truth approved by gods?': a common use with ἦ: O. T. 368 ἦ καὶ γεγηθῶς . . .; 1045 ἦ κάστ' ἔτι ζῶν; O. C. 299 ἦ καὶ δοκίε; 406 ἦ καὶ κατασκευῶσι; &c.

καὶ cannot mean 'both,' in which meaning it is never followed by τε.

584. 'The mother's spring what just vengeance shall dry up?' a fine imaginative line much misunderstood by many editors. The

mother (as Hermann said) is described as the fountain of life, and to sack his own city is (for Polyneikes) to slay his mother, to dry up the wellspring which gave him life : in this act can be no *δίκη*. The alteration *πληγὴν* (Seidler, Weil, Wecklein) destroys the aptness of *κατασβέσει*, and reduces a powerful and poetic line to obscure prose. For *σβέννυμι* in the sense of 'to dry,' cf. Ag. 888 *πηγαὶ κατεσβήκασιν* : ib. 958 *ἔστιν θάλασσα· τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει* ; and Hesiod, Op. 588 *αἶγες σβεννύμεναι* of 'goats that yield no milk.' No doubt this is the earlier meaning : and the word was applied to fire in the sense of 'quench,' as though the fire was a sort of liquid which was *dried up*.

587. *πιανῶ*, 'shall enrich' by being buried there. The seer knows that he is destined to die in the assault, 617.

588. *ὑπό* is clearly right, adopted by Ald. Turn. from the original reading in G (where it was probably an accident), instead of M's reading *ἐπί*.

589. *οὐκ ἄτιμον*, because the place where he was swallowed up by the earth became a sacred spot in Theban land, and was a famous oracle afterwards. Eur. (Supp. 925) says 'the gods extol the son of Oikles, by carrying him off alive, chariot and all, into the chasm of the earth.'

590. *εὐκύκλον*, the regular Homeric epithet of the shield, e.g. *ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους λαισῆιά τε πτερόεντα*, Il. 5. 453. [The original reading of M *εὐκηλον ἔχων* is a mere blunder of the scribe, corrected at the time by the διορθωτής.]

591. The word *κύκλω* is rather weak after *εὐκύκλον* : and Wecklein's *κύτει* may very likely be right. But Aeschylus is not particular about such repetitions ; e.g. 587-8 we have *χθόνα . . . χθονός* : 602-5 *ἀνὴρ* three times.

593. *διὰ φρενός* (like the common poetic usages *διὰ χειρῶν*, *διὰ στέρνων*, *διὰ στόματος*), 'in his mind' : a less commonplace way of introducing the metaphor, instead of saying 'the deep furrow of the mind.' These lines are referred to by Plato in a well-known passage in the Republic (361 B, 362 A). Plato is merely illustrating the antithesis between *being* and *seeming*, and he inserts in the two places *ἀγαθόν* and *ἄδικον* instead of *ἄριστος*. Some have wrongly inferred from this (and other later quotations) that Aeschylus here wrote *δίκαιος* (and so the scholiast quotes the line). But though *δίκαιος* would do, the more general word *ἄριστος* is better. Plutarch (Aristid. 3) relates that when these lines were recited in the theatre the whole audience looked at Aristides. This is perhaps the origin of the false reading *δίκαιος*, which was the popular title of Aristides : and *δίκαιον* 598, 610, may have helped.

595. *ἀντηρέτας*. We should say 'an opponent,' but he is using the generalized form 'Such a man must have wise and good opponents,' where the plur. is natural.

*ἀντηρέτης* is literally 'one who *rots* against' another : nautical metaphors are the commonest of all in Greek, e.g. *ναυκληρεῖν*, below,

line 652, ὀρμίζω (Cho. 529), καθήσειν, δίνη, ἔρμα (Eum. 564 sqq.), ἔρμα (Ag. 1007), &c. So λιμήν, οὔριος, σάλος, κλύδων, πύπλους, πλείν, χεϊμάζομαι, &c.

596. δεινός, 'a foe to be feared': the religious maxim is characteristic.

597-8. We must read βροτοῖς with the corrector of M and all the other MSS.; and for the comparative δυσσεβεστέροις, though supported by M (G, Lips.) we should take the stronger δυσσεβεστάτοις, found in several later MSS., and adopted by nearly all modern editors.

I agree with Paley that βροτοῖς is better separated from the adjective: 'Alas, for the ill omen that among mortals makes the just man a partner with the impious.'

600. 'The fruit is not fit to gather,' as the scholiast rightly explains. The abruptness is less harsh where the sense (as here) is a summary of what goes before, and is 'gnomic' in character. So δεινός ὅς θεοὺς σέβει, 596; and see next line.

601. This splendid and characteristic line, known to the schol. ('the soil of error bears its harvest of Death'), has been suspected on many grounds. There is no connexion: ἐκκαρπίζεται is unlikely in this sense, as the mid. should be used of the tiller, not of the earth: and the sentiment is judged to be irrelevant, as it seems applicable rather to *sin producing ruin*, while this man is δίκαιος. But (1) the abruptness may be explained as in 600: (2) καρπίζω means to *make to bear*, hence καρπίζομαι could mean 'to bear': and ἄτη means here *error*, which induces the just man to join wicked company. Moreover the line is wanted to connect the next passage: ὄλωλεν is much smoother after θάνατον ἐκκαρπίζεται than after καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος.

603. θερμοῖς, 'rash,' 'headstrong': so of the sinner, Eum. 560 γελᾷ δὲ δαίμων ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θερμῷ.

καὶ πανουργία τινί: not abstract for concrete, which would make it a prosaic repetition: but 'and some strange villainy': the crime is personified and comes on board: much more like Aeschylus.

605. Notice the repetition ἀνὴρ . . . ἀνδρῶν . . . ἀνδράσιν.

606. i. e. guilty of the breach of the two primary duties, kindness to strangers and reverence to gods.

607. I have taken ταύτοῦ κυρήσας ἐκδίκους ἀγρεύματος (Prién) for the MSS. ἐκδίκως: the point is that he suffers *with the unjust*, not that he suffers *unjustly*. ἑδάμη, *gnomic* aorist.

608. παγκοίνῳ, 'smiting all alike': the stroke of fate does not distinguish the good and bad.

612. βίᾳ φρενῶν, 'in wisdom's despite': for he knew the end was ruin, and warned the others in vain.

613. M here reads τείνουσι πομπὴν τὴν μακρὰν πάλιν μολεῖν, and has the obscure scholion ἐπὶ τὴν εἰς Ἀιθὴν ἀποικίαν ἐλκυσθήσεται μολεῖν τὴν ἐναντίαν τῇ εἰς Ἀργος. There can be little doubt that this scholion is a jumble of two notes with different readings: τὴν



ἐναντίαν τῇ εἰς Ἄργος being an explanation of πάλιν μολεῖν, and the other half the explanation of πόλιν μολεῖν, 'he shall be dragged down to go to the distant city of Hades.' πόλιν must therefore have been an early various reading: and it is found in all the later MSS. This reading and explanation however, though adopted by Wellauer, Paley, and others, is very unlikely: τὴν μακρὰν πόλιν for Hades is a most obscure and improbable phrase: and the order of the words makes the interpretation very harsh, since the epexegetic inf. always *follows* the word it depends on, and does not, as here, precede it.

Some with Dindorf think the line an interpolation: but its very difficulty makes that unlikely. Wecklein reads καμπήν with Heimsoeth, 'striving to come back the long course' (metaphor from the δίαυλος): but this ingenious correction gives the wrong suggestion: the line must give the idea of *the rash attack*, not of *flight*: not to mention that τείνουσι . . . μολεῖν is a most unnatural expression in this sense.

It is best to leave the MS. reading, and to translate: '... making a march too far for returning': τὴν μακρὰν πάλιν μολεῖν being literally 'the (march) that is far for coming back,' like the Homeric οὐ σχεδὸν ἐστὶν ἐλέσθαι, Il. 13. 268; ἵπποι οὐκ ἐγγὺς ἔσαν προφυγεῖν, ib. 11. 339. The phrase 'too far for returning' is then an effective and ironic reference to the destined destruction of the Argive leaders. [Verrall's suggestion to put a full stop at φρενῶν is open to two objections: the first clause becomes obscure, and the second unconnected.]

615. 'I look for him not even to attack.'

μηδέ, the negative in Or. Obl., is normally οὐ: but with many verbs of *thinking* μή is occasionally found in Attic, even in prose, especially where (as here) there is a feeling of *confident belief* or *expectation*: πέπεισμαι μηδένα ἀδικεῖν, Plat. Apol. 37 A; οἶμαι ἂν μηδένα ἀντειπεῖν, Dem. Andr. § 597; νομίσαντες μή ἂν ἔτι ἱκανοὶ γενέσθαι, Thuc. 6. 102. See 37, 429.

Notice δοκῶ in the *personalized* sense 'I think' = δοκεῖ μοι.

616. MSS. all read ἄθυμος, which some editors retain: but the change of construction is then most harsh; and the mistake probably arose from the following οἶδεν, which seemed to some copyist to be naturally preceded by a nominative in the antithetic clause.

617. 'But he knows how he is doomed to die in the fight,' and therefore the struggle is useless. He did not strictly 'die in the fight' because the earth swallowed him: but the expression is natural enough and needs no alteration. σφε must mean 'him' not 'them' (Verrall): it would be harsh to have it twice in three lines in different senses.

619. 'And he is wont to keep silence or to speak wisely,' a line of grave irony which has been misunderstood. Amphiaraios must die if Apollo's word is true: *and if the god speaks he does not speak*



*folly*: an effective meiosis, meaning the god's word is sure. Ritschl and Weil defer the line, applying it to Lasthenes!

620. ὅμως δέ, 'but yet,' i.e. though he will probably not attack, and so the opponent not be needed. The ὅμως δέ really answers δοκῶ μὲν, 615.

621. The fierce warrior is called 'no hospitable warder': another touch of grim irony.

622. Wellauer's φύει is no doubt right for the φύσει of M and the φέρει of other MSS. The paratactic construction is common in Aeschylus (as in Homer): οἶδεν (617) and βραδύνεται (623) are examples.

623. MSS. read ποδῶκες ὄμμα, 'a swift-foot' eye, 'swift-racing' eye: a grotesque and harsh figure, which it is difficult to believe Aeschylus wrote, though he is unusually daring in figures. Weil's οἶμα is a fine conjecture: the word is used by Homer of a lion οἶμα λέοντος ἔχων, Il. 16. 752, and of an eagle, αἰετοῦ οἶματ' ἔχων μέλανος, ib. 21. 252: and I have followed Wecklein in adopting it here. The meaning is then 'swift-footed was his rush,' 'nor slow his hand,' &c.

624. 'To pluck his unsheathed sword from beside his shield,' i.e. from the scabbard on the *left* side.

δόρυ here means 'a sword,' a rare use, but undoubtedly found Ag. 1149, where Cassandra, foreseeing her own death, says, ἐμοὶ δὲ μῖμνει σχισμὸς ἀμφήκει δορί. [The weapon with which the murder of Agamemnon and Cassandra was committed *was* a sword (not, as often supposed, an axe), as is plain from φάσγανον, Ag. 1262; ξίφει, 1351; ξιφοδῆλτος, 1528; and particularly Αἰγίσθου ξίφος, Cho. 1011. Also σχισμὸς is more appropriate to a sword: and ἀμφήκης is the regular epithet for ξίφος from Homer on.]

In the same way the sword with which Aias killed himself is called by Sophokles indifferently ξίφος (828), φάσγανον (834), ἔγχος (658, 907), and even βέλος (658).

[Many take δόρυ as 'spear': but γυμνωθέν suits a sword better.]

[*Lasthenes goes out.*]

628. M reads ἐκτρέποντες γᾶς ἐπιμόλους: and a late corrector writes εἰς over the last word. In any case a preposition is required, and εἰς is the right one. Cf. Ag. 1464 μηδ' εἰς Ἑλένην κότον ἐκτρέψης; Eur. Supp. 483 τὸ δυστυχὲς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐς ἄλλον ἐκτρέπει. Some late MSS. give πρὸς: unmetrical, but a sign that the need of a preposition was felt. Some edd. (Wecklein, Campbell, &c.) omit γᾶς (reading κλύουσ', 565): but ἐπιμόλους is rather harsh without a noun, and I prefer Hermann's restoration both here and in the strophe.

629. πύργων δ' ἐκτοθεν, 'from without the ramparts,' i.e. when they are assailing the walls, and before they can enter: exactly what happened to Kapaneus.

631. τόνδ' (MSS.) can hardly be right of an absent man: I take Blomfield's τόν τ': the formal repetition of τόν suits the importance of the announcement.

633. The original reading of M οἷός γ' is clearly a corruption, as γε here is weak. The later alteration οἷας is plainly right. 'What fate he invokes with curses on the city.'

634. The prayer begins here: 'to set foot on the rampart,' &c.

καπικηρυχθεῖς means simply 'and be proclaimed,' i. e. as conqueror and restored prince: though, as the word is generally used of proclaiming *against* (θάνατον, ζημίαν, χρήματα, the latter meaning 'to set a price on'), there is a sinister association in its use here, which is most appropriate to the king who is proclaimed at the point of the sword.

635. ἀλώσιμον παιᾶν, 'a triumph-song of capture.'

There is no dislocation of the order here, as some have supposed. Polyneikes imagines himself climbing the wall, proclaiming himself victor, raising the paean, and meeting his brother in fight and defeating him, and being slain himself. The proclamation and paean are the confident defiance before the battle.

636. ξυμφέρεσθαι, 'to close.'

637. The manuscript reading τὼς ἀνδρηλάτην (or τὼς σ') can no doubt be translated: 'or sparing thy life, who dishonouredst and dravest him forth, so with exile in like manner to requite thee' [lit. or thee, living, his dishonourer, his banisher, so to banish, &c.]: but in this case τὼς is most harshly out of place.

I therefore follow Blomfield, Paley, and Wecklein in reading ἄνδρηλατῶν: 'or sparing thy life, who didst dishonour him, so to drive thee forth and with exile in like manner to requite thee.'

Madvig's σὼς ἀνδρηλάτης makes an ingenious antithesis: but the phrasing is harsh and improbable.

640. ἐποπτήρας λιτῶν τῶν ὧν γενέσθαι πάγχυ, 'to look with all favour on his prayers.'

641. Πολυνείκους βία: the formal Epic title, and the deferring of the name, ends the passage with a certain stateliness. The line has been suspected, but is surely genuine.

[The correction of βία to βίᾳ in M is a pure mistake. The schol. has the same error.]

642. M reads εὐκυκλον, the regular Epic epithet of σάκος, already used 590. The scholiast of M suggests εὐθετον, which he explains as 'light,' 'easily wielded,' εὐβάστακτον. The later MSS. are divided between these readings, though most modern editors adopt εὐθετον.

It is not easy to decide: but if we read εὐθετον it will hardly bear the schol.'s meaning, and should rather be rendered 'suitable,' 'convenient.' Moreover, as to the authority of the scholiast, it should be observed that where he explains a *different* reading to the text, and does not refer to the question of reading, he is transcribing

a note on another and frequently an older reading : where, as here, he says γράφε εὔθετον ('read εὔθετον'), he shows that he is dealing with the text before him, and his suggested reading may be only his own conjecture : as is probably the case on line 222, where for ἀπτόμενον the schol. says γράφε τυφόμενον.

I therefore prefer and adopt εὔκυκλον.

643. προσμεμηχανημένον, 'rivetted on,' see 541.

644. ἰδᾶν : epexegetic, lit. 'a warrior to behold.' Translate 'The form of a warrior in beaten gold.'

645. σωφρόνως ἡγουμένη, 'with stately mien advancing.' σώφρων describes anything the opposite of violent, wild, passionate, reckless : here it refers to the 'quiet majesty' of the figure.

ἡγουμένη has been suspected, and it is unusual with ἄγει : but the former means that she comes first, the latter that she takes the warrior by the hand. ἡρτυμένη or ἡσκημένη (Butler) would simply mean 'soberly dressed' : a much inferior sense.

646. τὰ γράμματα, 'the legend' or inscription.

647. κατάξω δ', 'and I will bring back' : the 'and' is required because the legend says 'I am Justice and I will bring,' &c.

κατάγειν, the regular word for *bringing home* an exile : the same use of the prep. appears in κατελθεῖν. So 660.

648. ἐπιστροφαί : lit. 'the moving about in, the dwelling in' : so ξενοτίμους δόμων ἐπιστροφάς, Eum. 546, 'honourable entertainment' ; βόουνομοι ἐπιστροφαί, Frag. 233, 'haunts of grazing kine' ; δῶμ' ἐπιστροφωμένον, Ag. 972, 'is at home again.' So here : 'he shall rule his city and dwell in his father's house.'

649. ἐκείνων : i.e. all the seven warriors : he has finished his message now (the finding of an opponent for Polyneikes is, as he says, Eteokles' business). ἐξευρήματα are the 'devices' on their shields.

650-2. These lines have been suspected of interpolation because of the repetition. But the repetition (characteristic of Aesch., see 591) is quite natural here after the intervening remark ὥς οὔ ποτ' . . . μέμψει. The general sense is : 'I have described the seven warriors (649) : it is your office to choose an opponent for Polyneikes : my tale you will find true : it is yours to judge how to rule your city.'

651. ἀνδρὶ τῷδε, 'myself,' as frequently.

653. θεομανές : masc., 'stricken with madness by the gods.' The word is always so used ; and the schol. is simply mistaken in translating 'raging against the gods.' The first line is of course an apostrophe to the absent Polyneikes.

654. ἅμῳν : see 417. 'Our all-hapless stock, sprung from Oidipous.'

657. 'Lest a more intolerable woe spring from it' ; i.e. lest his weakness should destroy the spirit of the defenders, and so all be lost. γόος, 'lament,' is easily used for 'woe.'

658. Πολυνείκει, the reading of M, is probably right. A similar

attraction is found e.g. Dem. 388 *περὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἐγγύς καὶ μειζόνων, χέγω δὲ Φωκίων*; id. 96 *παρ' ὧν ἂν ἕκαστοι δύνωνται, τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων λέγω*; Soph. Ai. 569 *μητρὶ τ' Ἐριβοίᾳ λέγω*. At the same time, as M apparently has been corrected, and the other MSS. have mostly *Πολυνείκη*, it is impossible to be confident.

661. *φλύοντα σὺν φοίτῳ φρενῶν*, 'with vain and witless vaunt.' The alliteration is contemptuous, as in O. T. 371 *τυφλὸς τὰ τ' ὄτα τὸν τε νοῦν τὰ τ' ὄμματ' εἶ*; ib. 425 *ᾧ σ' ἐξισώσει σοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς σοῖς*; Ai. 1112 *οἱ πόνου πολλοῦ πλέω*.

664. *φυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον*: i.e. 'when he escaped from the dark womb of his mother.'

666. 'Nor when the hair thickened on his chin,' grandiose expression for manhood. *γενείου* is gen. depending on the whole expression *ξυλλογῇ τριχώματος*.

667. *κατηξιώσατο*, 'deemed him worthy,' i.e. worthy of her regard.

668. *κακουχία*: a rare word, meaning 'ill-handling,' 'maltreating.' The dictionaries quote only one other classical instance, in Plat. Rep. 615 B, 'betraying cities or armies, bringing them into slavery, or being guilty of any other *κακουχία*.' The later verb *κακουχέω* has a corresponding meaning.

670. *πανδίκως*, properly 'duly,' 'rightly,' is rather a favourite word with Aeschylus, and seems often to mean hardly more than 'completely,' 'utterly,' 'fully': *πανδίκως εἰσεβής*, Supp. 419; *πανδίκως μεμνημένος*, Cho. 681. So here it means 'utterly false to her name,' though no doubt there is a certain grim irony in the phrase *πανδίκως ψευδώνυμος Δίκη*, the oxymoron heightening the effect.

672. *ξυστήσομαι*, 'will face him': the verb recurs below, divided.

674. The dative here does not require a preposition, as *συστήσομαι* has so lately occurred: in the next line the *σύν* reappears as prep.

676. This line has been needlessly suspected and emended, though we must restore *πέτρων*, 'stones,' from *πέτρος*, instead of *πετρῶν*, 'rocks,' from *πέτρα*.

'Quick bring my greaves, defence against the spear and stones.'

The stones are the *χερμάδ' ὀκρίεσσαν*, 300.

678. *τῷ κάκιστ' αἰδωμένῳ*: taken passive by some, either 'called by the worst name (Polyneikes),' an obscure and rather ineffective expression, or 'ill spoken of,' which is still less satisfactory. Hermann is no doubt right in taking it middle, 'him who utters such dread words,' referring to Polyneikes' curses, 636 sqq. [Verrall says 'there is no authority for a deponent *αἰδῶμαι*': but besides Eum. 380, Cho. 151, it occurs indisputably in Soph. Ai. 772, and most probably in Phil. 130.]

680. *αἷμα γὰρ καθάρσιον*, 'for there is blood to cleanse [that slaughter],' i.e. that is ordinary slaughter which can be purified (by the blood of a suckling, Eum. 450): while the murder of a brother



is αὐθέντης (or αὐτοκτόνος) φόνος, which has no purification. See note on 734.

681. The anacoluthon here (*nominativus pendens*) is dramatic, 'but the mutual slaughter of kinsmen!—the stain of that pollution ne'er grows old.' The same constr. is found Ag. 1008 καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων κησίων ὄκνος βαλὼν οὐκ ἔδν πρόπας δόμος. See 734 n.

683. 'If a man should have trouble, let him be without shame.' The optative is the *generalizing* use, idiomatic in maxims even where the principal verb is (as here) primary. Thus Thuc. i. 120 σωφρόνων ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῖντο, ἡσυχάζειν; Soph. Ai. 521 χρεὼν μνήμην προσεῖναι, τερπνὸν εἴ τί που πάθοι. So with other than conditional clauses, Antig. 666, O. T. 315, 979, Trach. 93, &c.

[Most edd. stop the line at the end: then ἔστω means 'let it be so,' 'well and good': but this is not so pointed or natural, and the schol. clearly had the other stopping: εἰ ὅλως τις ἀτυχεῖ, καλὸν τὸ δίχα αἰσχύνῃς.]

685. 'But of things at once shameful and woful there is no glory thou canst find.' The line has been needlessly suspected: the sentiment is simple and fine: 'if you have to bear suffering, at least be clear of shame: that (honour) is the only gain after death: but where disgrace is added to suffering, there is no honour' (none, that is, in endurance of the suffering).

ἐκλείαν, not ἐκλειῖαν, see note on 402.

[686-719. SECOND EPEISODION, Part II. In a dialogue from the stage between Eteokles and Chorus, the latter endeavour to dissuade the king from his resolve to meet Polyneikes at the seventh gate. They say it is a 'fatal and evil desire' for an 'unholy bloodshed': it is no shame to him to save his life: fortune and fate may change. Eteokles all through sees that his Fate is fixed, and flinching or escape impossible. 'The curse of Oidipous cannot but be fulfilled': and so he goes out to his death.]

686. θυμοπληθὴς δορίμαργος ἄτα: loaded and powerful phrase, in the poet's manner: 'fatal fury of battle mastering thy soul.'

690. κῶμα Κωκυτοῦ λαχόν, 'heir to Kokytos' wave,' another fine imaginative phrase for 'doomed to death.'

691. Φοῖβω στυγηθὲν: referring to the 'ancient sin swiftly avenged' of Laios (745), who disobeyed the thrice repeated oracle of Apollo that he should save his city by dying childless, and in spite of it begat a son Oidipous, who slew him.

692. ὠμοδακῆς, 'fierce devouring': the schol. says ἄλογος, 'un-reasoning,' which need not (as some suppose) point to another original reading, but is merely a tame paraphrase of ὠμοδακῆς.

693. The schol. says ἐπιθυμία ἢ πικρὸν τὸν καρπὸν ἔχουσα, showing that he read πικρόκαρπος: but the acc. makes a more effective phrase.

695. M reads αἰσγρά: but the reading ἐχθρά of the later MSS. is

certainly right, both on account of the sense, and the antithesis to φίλου.

[ε and αι are the commonest confusion in MSS.]

τελεῖ' ἀρά (MSS.) cannot be sound, as the word is τελεῖα and the elision impossible. I have adopted Weil's μέλαιν' which occurs 833 with τελεῖα as epithet of ἀρά. [Others prefer Wordsworth's correction τάλαιν' which occurs Eur. Hipp. 1236 ὦ πατὴρ τάλαιν' ἀρά; but τάλαινα is not so good with ἐχθρά.]

697. λέγουσα κέρδος πρότερον ὑστέρον μόρου, 'telling me of gain first, and death afterward,' i.e. 'I shall first slay him, then be slain.' The gen. is governed by πρότερον, and the ordinary phrase would be κέρδος πρότερον μόρου.

699. βίον εὖ κυρήσας, 'having found happiness in thy life,' the aor. implies the change to happiness. βίον is best taken as acc. of respect: κυρεῖν usually has gen. when it is transitive. The sense is: 'do not go: none will call you coward, the gain to you is too great, for you will purge your house of the curse.'

μελάναιγίς ἐκ δ'. MSS have μελάναιγίς δ' οὐκ, which is (with the true reading δόμων) no sense. Moreover, it does not correspond with the antistrophe, which has the usual dochmiac -θοι θαλερωτέρῳ.

There can be little doubt that ἐκ δ' (Weil and Weckl.) is right. For the displacement of δέ see Cho. 519 τὰ δῶρα μείω δ' ἐστί; Ag. 278 ποίου χρόνου δέ; Probably ἐκ δ' was written δ' ἐκ, then δ' οὐκ.

The αἰγίς is the Homeric divine shield, worn by Zeus and Athene; it was conceived as metal made by Hephaistos. Originally it was probably an imaginative rendering of the storm-cloud (αἰσσω), but was later conceived as a goat-skin (αἶγ-). Here it has perhaps its earlier associations and means 'black-storm-clad Erinyes.'

701. i.e. if Eteokles declines the combat, the house can be purified of the Ἐρινύς or curse by sacrifice.

703. This line is obscure, and has been variously interpreted: but the simplest and best sense is:—'but the boon [to my country] from my death shall be praised,' i.e. in effect he says: 'The gods have forgotten me—the sacrifices you speak of are vain—but my death brings safety to the state and men will be grateful: why then should I *ῥαῖν* upon death any more—why not march boldly to face it?'

This interpretation is substantially that of one scholiast, who says μετὰ θάνατον ὥσως εὐκλείας τευξόμεθα. The vivid use of the present θαυμάζεται in prophetic sense is idiomatic: χρόνῳ μὲν ἀγρεῖ πόλιν, Ag. 126; οἱ ἐπικραίνει, Eum. 950; τίνα με φῆς ἔχειν ἔδραν; Eum. 892.

704. τί οὖν. The hiatus seems to have been allowed in Attic after τί, see 208.

σαίνοιμεν: the idea is that of *conciliating* a fierce foe, as opposed to *fighting* him.

705. νῦν ὅτε . . ., i.e. νῦν [σαίνοις ἄν] ὅτε. 'Ay, do so now, when he

(the μόρος) is at hand.' The danger is close : yield and avoid it : soon fate may be kinder to you : now it is threatening.

δαίμων has been suspected (H.) because it is a spondee, while κεκλή- 698 is an iambus, but this is the well-known 'irrational' long syllable of the dochmiac. So Eum. 266 φεροίμαν βοσκάν.

706. λήματος ἐν τροπαίᾳ. MSS. have ἀντροπαία. The word must be τροπαία, 'shifting gale or breeze,' as we have φρενὸς δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν, Ag. 219. The previous word might be ἄν (Heath) or ἐν (Ald.). The latter is perhaps the most likely. The meaning will then be, literally, 'In a changed breeze of spirit after long time fortune may come, &c.' i. e. 'Fortune may change her spirit at last, and come perchance, &c.' Some suppose λήματος to be 'your spirit': but this would certainly require σοῦ.

M reads θα-λωτέρῳ with a single letter (no doubt λ) erased : a later hand corrects to θαλερωτέρῳ, read by the other MSS. The word in Homer usually means 'rich,' 'big,' 'strong,' 'full' (αἰζηοί, μηροί, δάκρυα, χαίτη, γόος) : but it is applied (Od. 6. 66) to γάμος apparently in the sense of 'youthful,' 'fair,' and here it may be perhaps used to mean 'soft,' 'gentle.' Other conjectures are θελεμωτέρῳ (Con.), χαλαρωτέρῳ (Herm.), μαλακωτέρῳ (Heimsoeth), but are less likely to have been corrupted into θαλλωτέρῳ. Still the word does not seem a natural one : and of the conjectures Conington's is perhaps the best.

708. ζῆ : metaphorically, 'rages.'

709. M reads plural ἐξέξεσαν, which Herm. retains on the ground that κατεύγματα is personified. But it is more likely a mere slip for ἐξέξεσεν : the neut. verbal is not easily personified. See note on 982.

This passage refers, doubtless, as Herm. suggests, to the lost tragedy *Oidipous*, which preceded this play in the trilogy. What the vision (ὄψεις) was which followed on the curse, we do not exactly know : but it clearly foreshadowed the strife between the brothers settled by the sword, as in 730-1, 'the cruel steel dividing the goods.' So here the vision is called 'divider of our father's wealth,' with the same grim irony.

713. λέγοιτ' ἂν ὦν ἄνη τις, 'Say aught that may be done,' i. e. don't make a fruitless request to forbear what is resolved on. So of futile plots ἄνωσις δ' οὐκ ἔσσεται αὐτῶν, Il. 2. 347 ; ἄνη means 'fulfilment.'

λέγοιτ' ἂν is the common use of potential as mild imperative.

714. 'Go not thou forth on this errand at the seventh gate': the common poetic use of *preposition of rest* with verb of *motion*, originally Epic, see note on 403.

716. 'Yet victory even though base the god honours,' i. e. The thing is to conquer, even if you do shirk personal conflict. This is quite in harmony with their previous advice : 'Don't commit the sin of shedding a brother's blood (682) : ... 'tis enough for Thebans to fight Argives (679) : retire *now*, presently the gods will be appeased and the fury depart (700).'

[The schol. takes the νίκη to be Eteokles' victory over Polyneikes,

and so is forced to take the line as *question*, or translate τιμᾶ, 'punishes,' which is quite impossible. Paley and Verrall take κακὴ νίκη to mean 'defeat,' which is very harsh and obscure.

The Chorus are urging Eteokles to keep aloof from the fight: this may be cowardly, but the battle will be won, which is the main thing. So a *lie* told in order to succeed is similarly justified Frag. 273 (ψευδῶν δὲ καιρὸν ἔσθ' ὅπου τιμᾶ θεός) quoted by Weil, who however gives 716 to Eteokles.]

718. δρέψασθαι, 'to pluck'; a bold metaphor for 'taking a life.'

719. ἐκφύγοις: the generalizing 'you,' as in English. So Soph. Antig. 476 πλείστ' ἂν εἰσίδοις. The alteration ἐκφύγοι could only mean 'he' (Polyn.) shall not escape: a very much inferior sense. Eteokles treats his fight as a duty, and the impending death as a fate.

[*Eteokles goes out to his death.*]

[720-91. SECOND STASIMON. I fear the fatal Curse of Oidipous: the Sword shall divide the heritage, and leave then enough land for a grave (720-33). Once the blood shed on earth, there is no cleansing more. Alas, for new woes mingled with the old: for ancient was the Sin—the curse abiding to the third generation—the sin of Laios who disobeyed Apollo (734-49). He begat a son—death to himself and shame to the queen: a sea of troubles surges round the ship of state—a slender defence: I fear lest it founder (750-65). For the curse comes to pass, yet the ill is still there: our wealth is lost in the storm: for who was greater than Oidipous, who slew the Sphinx? but when he came to know of his marriage, in frenzy he blinded his eyes, and cursed his sons, in anger for their neglect, that one day they should divide their heritage with the sword: and now I fear Erinyes will bring it to pass! (766-91).]

720. πέφρικα τὰν... Ἐρινὺν τελέσαι. The sentence begins as though Ἐρινὺν was object-accus. to πέφρικα, and finally develops by the addition of τελέσαι into a full-blown accus. with infinitive. So exactly in Homer Od. 22. 40 οὔτε θεῶν δείσαντες... | οὔτε τιν' ἀνθρώπων νέμεσιν κατόπισθεν ἔσσεσθαι. Il. 5. 601 οἶον δὲ θαυμάζομεν Ἐκτορα δῖον | αἰχμητὴν ἔμεναι. 'I shudder at her, the power divine unlike to gods, who lays low the house, unerring prophetess of woe, Erinyes of a father's prayer, that she should accomplish the wrathful curses of frenzied Oidipous.'

726. παιδολέτωρ, 'deadly to his sons.' ὀτρύνει, 'urges' them: the object understood out of παιδολέτωρ.

727-33. The general sense is, 'The sword shall divide the inheritance and leave to each brother land enough—for a grave!'

This is imaginatively heightened with unusual audacity of personification:—

'Tis a stranger awards the portions,  
Chalybos, offshoot of Scythians,



an evil divider of the goods,  
the relentless Iron :—  
dealing them a lot wherein to dwell,  
land they shall hold even in death,  
no lords of wide estates !’

The *Chalybes* (Χάλυβοι is the rarer form, Alc. 980) are described by Xenophon (Anab. 5. 5. 1) as being west of Mosynoikoi, i. e. just east of Cappadocia and on the south coast of the Euxine. Strabo (549) describes the country as a narrow strip of coast, with the ironstone hills behind. The people are from Aeschylus’ time known as iron workers, and the word χάλυψ is used for the metal. Aeschylus (Prom. 714), as here, connects them with the Scythians, and places them (wrongly) on the *north* coast of the Euxine.

731. The construction is διαπήλας, ‘having allotted’ them (αὐτοῖς understood), χθόνα ναίειν, ‘land to dwell in,’ ὅποσαν κατέχειν, ‘so much as they can hold,’ καὶ φθιμένοισι, ‘even when dead.’ For the inf. (abridged consec. after ὅποσαν for τοσαύτην ὥστε) compare ὅσον ἀποζῆν, Thuc. 1. 2, and the common use with οἶος and inf. φθιμένοισι is in strict agreement (by attraction) with the (understood) dat. after διαπήλας, while ἀμοίρους reverts to the acc. and inf. as often. So σοὶ δὲ συγγνώμη λέγειν . . . μὴ πάσχουσιν, Eur. Med. 814.

734. ‘But when they have perished, slain by a brother’s hand.’ The compounds of αὐτός (αὐτοκτόνος, αὐτοφόνος, αὐτοδαίκτος, αὐτόχειρ, αὐθέντης) are used for ‘the murder of kinsman by kinsman,’ to the Greek idea a far more awful pollution than mere murder of an outsider. So αὐτόφωνα κακά (of the Pelopid crimes), Ag. 1091 ; αὐτοκτονοῦντε (of these two brothers), Antig. 56 ; τέκνοις προσβαλεῖν χέρ’ αὐτοκτόνον (of Medea), Eur. Med. 1254 ; and in this play, 681, 810. The clearest instance is Antig. 1175, where the messenger reports Haemon’s suicide with the words αὐτόχειρ αἰμάσσεται, on which the Chorus asks *whether was it by his father’s hand or his own* : showing that αὐτόχειρ includes both.

736. MSS. read καὶ χθονία, which does not metrically correspond to αἰῶνα δ’ ἐς, 744. χθονία is no doubt corrupt ; two schol. explain it by πατρώα κόνις and πατρία γῆ. Weil suggests νερτέρη, Francken πατρία, Hermann γαῖα. The last is the best : for H. quotes an (emended) note of Hesychius, γαῖα κόνις· ἡ γῆ, which strongly confirms the conjecture. Accordingly I have adopted it.

The thought, ‘when earth has drunk the murdered blood, there is no cure,’ is a favourite one with Aeschylus : τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ γὰρ πεσόν ἀπαξ . . . μέλαν αἶμα τίς ἂν πάλιν ἀγκαλέσαιτ’ ἐπαείδων ; Ag. 1019 ; τί γὰρ λῦτρον πεσόντος αἵματος πέδοι ; Cho. 48 ; αἶμα μητρῶον χαμαὶ δνσαγόμιστον, Eum. 261.

742. παλαιγενῇ is emphatic, and connects with παλαιοῖσι, 740. ‘Ay, from old was the transgression I tell of, swiftly avenged—to the third generation the curse abides—when,’ &c. Laios was

warned thrice he should not beget a son: he disobeyed and perished: his son, Oidipous, slew him and wedded his mother, and became accursed, blind, outcast, and wretched: and now Oidipous' sons are gone to their last battle, where they shall die by each other's hands. Thus the curse is at once παλαιγενής and ὠκύποινος.

746. βίᾳ governs Ἀπόλλωνος, 'in despite of Apollo, albeit he thrice declared,' &c.

749. σῶζειν: the 'prophetic' use of the present where we should use the future; see note on 429. It belongs to the same grammatical use as the aorist examples there given. So Plat. Gorg. 520 E μὴ φάναι συμβουλεύειν ἂν μὴ τις διδῶ, &c. Translate 'If he died without issue he should save.'

[εἰπόντος might also be taken in the common sense 'ordered,' but the participle is then less natural; the sense is harsher if we take it 'told him to save his city by dying without issue.']

750. κρατηθεὶς δ'. The δ' is grammatically superfluous, as ἐγένετο is the principal verb, but quite idiomatic, for the sense is 'though Apollo told him . . . , yet.' So Xen. Mem. 3. 7. 8 θαυμάζω σου εἰ ἐκείνους ῥαδίως χειρούμενος τούτοις δὲ μηδὲνα τρόπον οἶει, &c.

m reads ἀβουλίαν. Hence Dind. suggests ἀβουλιᾶν, which gives grammar and sense: 'prevailed on by ill-counsel of those he loved,' i. e. by Iokaste, his wife, who wished for a son. The plural φῶλων veils the reference to Iokaste. ἐκ, poetic for ὑπό or dat. instr.

751. μὲν. The sense supplies the antithesis: 'he begat him indeed, but it was his ruin, and endless woes sprang from it.'

753. ματρός, M, is undoubtedly the true reading. The ingenious μὴ πρὸς of the later MSS. was probably invented to give an easier construction to ῥίζαν: but with ματρός the phrase is finer and simpler. Moreover, the regular poet. phrase is σπείρειν ἄλοκα, νεῖον, ἄρουραν, &c.: 'Who sowed the sacred furrow of his mother, where he was reared—a murderous planting—and bare the ill.' The second accusative is somewhat boldly used by a sort of extension of cognate use, but the sense is clear and effective.

756. ἔτλα expresses at once the horror of the deed and the ignorance and innocence of Oedipus. The verb is occasionally used by poets with *participle*: τάδε τέτλαμεν εἰσορόωντες, Od. 20. 311; τλήναι σε δρῶσαν, Soph. El. 943; but here the connexion with the participle is less close.

'Twas frenzy brought together the wedded pair distraught.' Some refer this (Schütz, Weil, Verrall) to Laios and Iokaste; but both the position of the sentence and the word νυμφίους point clearly to Oidipous. It was Oidipous, not Laios, whose *bridal* was disastrous.

758. ὥσπερ: adverbial as often, 'as it were.' Plat. Phaedr. 260 E ὥσπερ ἀκούειν δοκῶ τίνων προσιόντων; Phaed. 88 D ὁ λόγος ὥσπερ ὑπέμνησέ με.

759. ἀείρει: reverting to the nom. θάλασσα: irregular but natural

760. *τρίχalon*: lit. 'with three talons' (*χηλή*), bold expressive word for the threefold, cruel, curving wave. So *τρικυμία κακῶν*, Prom. 1015. The still common belief that the big waves come in threes (of which the last is the largest) appears also among the Greeks, Eur. Hipp. 1213, Tro. 83, and Plato uses it twice metaphorically, Rep. 472 A, Euth. 293 A. The former is the most explicit: *μόγισ μοι τῶ δύο κύματε ἐκφυγόντι νῦν τὸ μέγιστον καὶ χαλεπώτατον τῆς τρικυμίας ἐπάγεις*.

*καὶ περὶ πρύμναν*, 'about the very stern.' *καὶ* emphatic: the city is shaken to its very helm. Cf. line 2 *ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως οἴακα νωμῶν*.

762-3. With the manuscript text these two lines are best rendered 'And betwixt, a narrow defence, stretches the rampart in the wide space.' If this is right, he is thinking of his metaphor still, and the wall of the city is the *narrow plank of the labouring ship in the wide sea*. But *μεταξὺ δ' ἀλκά* does not metrically correspond to *σπείρας ἄρουρᾶν* of the strophe; and *ἐν εὖρει*, 'in the width,' is a very unusual expression: both suspicious points. There are many suggestions, perhaps the best being *μεταξὺ δ' οἶδμα δι' ὀλίγου τείνει πύργος ἐρύκειν* (Weil). Perhaps for *μεταξύ* we might read the Homeric *μεσσηγύ*: the metre is then right, but the whole change too great to be certain. Wecklein ingeniously suggests that *μεταξύ* is a gloss to explain *δι' ὀλίγου*: but his emendation *ἀλκά δὲ λαῖνος ὀλίγῳ τείνει πύργος ἐν εὖρει* involves the very prosaic *ὀλίγῳ ἐν εὖρει* for 'narrow.'

766. 'For 'tis brought to pass—the woful reconciliation of the ancient curse,' i.e. the reconciliation of Death prophesied in Oedipus' curse. So below 884 *διήλλαχθε σὺν σιδάρῳ*. Dindorf (and W. Headlam independently) propose *τελείαν*. This makes good sense, 'for of the ancient curse fulfilled, the reconcilment is grievous'; but the nominative *τέλειαι* is better, since 'the reconcilment' is (in the imaginative and pathetic irony of the Chorus' expression) *the very death* which was the point of the prophecy: whereas in Dindorf's reading the 'reconcilment' has a far less significant and effective sense. It may be observed also that the false reading of the MSS. *ἀραί* confirms *τέλειαι*, which word was the cause of the corruption of *ἀρῶν* to the nom.

[Verrall takes *καταλλαγαί* to mean 'barter,' and retains *ἀραί*: but, besides other difficulties, the meaning in fifth-century Greek of both *καταλλάσσω* and *καταλλαγή* seems to be always 'reconciliation.']

767-70. 'But the woe when it comes doth not pass away: but the wealth of eager men too lavishly heaped up is utterly cast overboard.'

*πελόμενα*, 'coming,' in the Homeric sense, like *γῆρας καὶ θάνατος* *τά τ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται*, Od. 13. 60.

*πρόπρυμνα*: adv. from *πρυμνός*, 'last,' 'lowest,' 'bottom-most'; so it means literally 'forth from the very bottom,' 'utterly'; like *πρόρριζος*, also used neut. as adv. in this sense.

ἀλφειστής, the Epic epithet of 'men,' disputed in meaning: some take it from ἀλφάνω, 'to increase,' in the sense given above, 'greedy,' 'eager,' 'gainful'; others from ἄλφι, ἐδ- 'corn-eating,' like the common Homeric epithet of 'men,' σίτον ἔδοντες. It would seem from this passage as if Aeschylus' use supported the first etymology.

The connexion of thought is then: 'One woe follows another like waves (758); I fear the city is doomed (764); for the curse is now accomplished, and yet the evil passes not away: the heaped-up wealth is utterly lost in the storm'; the last sentence giving (in the sea-metaphor still continued) the common Greek thought how 'Prosperity is brought low: for who' (as they continue) 'was so great as Oidipous?'

[The very ingenious suggestion of Büchler, adopted by Wecklein, *πενόμενος* for *πελόμεν* οὐ appears at first sight attractive: 'Ruin strikes *not the poor*, but 'tis overmuch wealth that is lost,' is a thoroughly Greek and Aeschylean idea (cf. Ag. 1001-13). But the decisive point against it is that he could not have emphasized the *escape of the poor from calamity* immediately after saying 'I fear lest *with the kings the city perish*' (764).]

772. MSS. read:

τὴν ἀνδρῶν γὰρ τοσόνδ' ἐθαύμασαν  
θεοὶ καὶ ξυνέστιοι πόλεως  
πολύβοτὸς τ' αἰὼν βροτῶν . . .

Πόλεως is metrically equivalent to τὰ δ' ὅλα in the strophe, but probably Dind. (Herm., Weckl.) is right in reading πόλεος δ, which makes the correspondence exact.

For the meaningless and unmetrical πολύβοτὸς τ' αἰὼν, I take πολύβατὸς τ' (Blomf.) and ἀγών (Weil). One of the interpretations given by the scholia is ὁ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐμβατευόμενος ἀνδρῶν, which points to an old reading πολύβατος. ἀγών means 'assemblage,' which was its earliest meaning (νεῶν ἐν ἀγῶνι, Iliad 15. 428; θείων ἀγῶνα, 7. 298).

The whole passage then means: 'For what man was so honoured by gods, and dwellers in the city's homes, and the thronged gathering of men?' i.e. by gods, and citizens, and all men. The gods' honour must mean 'prosperity.'

But though θεοί is the reading of all MSS., and is recognized in the scholia, it is difficult to believe that Aeschylus wrote θεοὶ ἐθαύμασαν of the incestuous parricide, Oidipous. The gods at least knew the truth.

Paley suggests ξένοι καὶ ξυνέστιοι: Wecklein still better ὀθνεῖοι ξυνέστιοι, which makes a simpler sense and better balanced sentence. 'For who was so honoured by strangers sharing the homes of the city, and the thronged gathering of men?' i.e. by strangers and citizens alike.



But in the absence of any confirming evidence, ὀθνεῖου is hardly near enough to θεοί to justify the change of the text. So I leave it.

776. 'The deadly pest, the destroyer of men,' is the Sphinx, who seized (ἀρπ-) and devoured those who could not answer her riddle, and from whom Oidipous delivered Thebes.

778. ἀρτίφρων: lit. 'sensible,' 'rightly-knowing,' i.e. 'when he came to know.' The word is best taken with γάμων: 'But when the hapless man came to know his ill-starred marriage.'

784. κρεισσοτέκνων (apparently read also by schol.) is m's correction of M, who wrote κρείσσω τέκνων, which has no meaning. It must mean 'better than his children,' a sort of grim irony, inverting the ordinary idea of 'dearer than the eyes' (see 530), because his children were his shame and sorrow. The word, though of unexampled formation, makes an effective sense, and is probably a genuine audacity of the poet.

ἐπλάγχθη: lit. 'went astray from,' i.e. 'lost,' a euphemism. So Pindar (of Tantalos with the stone hanging over his head, Ol. i. 94) εὐφροσύνας ἀλάτται.

785. MSS. have ἀραίας, which is impossible with ἀράς. Hermann corrects τέκνοισιν δ' ἀράς, accepted by many edd. But a better emendation is Francken's ἀγρίας for ἀραίας, also hit upon by E. L. Lushington.

786. ἐπικότους τροφᾶς. The phrase (which contains Aeschylus' version of the reason for Oidipous' curse) is obscure. Two reasons are assigned in the Cyclic poem *Thebais* for the curses, given (in the fragments which survive) as follows (see Introduction, pp. viii, xii):—

(1) Oidipous had forbidden his sons to set before him the silver table and golden cup of Kadmos, but one day Polyneikes did so. Then Oidipous 'uttered grievous curses betwixt the twain, and the Erinyes heard; that not in love should they divide their heritage, but war and fight should be ever between them.' (Quoted by Athenaeus, 12. 465.)

(2) The sons were accustomed to send Oidipous the shoulder of the victim when they sacrificed: one day they sent the loin (ισχίον) instead. Oidipous cried out 'that they had done it to insult him, and prayed to Zeus and the other immortals that by each others' hands they should go down to Hades.'

The scholiast on Oed. Col. 1378, who quotes this latter account, expressly adds 'Aeschylus also in the Ἐπτ' ἐπὶ Θήβας has followed the Epic poet.' It is probable that Aeschylus had these traditions in view, but uses τροφή in the more general sense of 'tendence.' We may translate then 'Wroth for their neglect.'

ἐπικότους: the epithet is poetically transferred from the *man* to the *curse*: but there is no need to read ἐπικότος with Heath.

[Herm., Schütz, and others take τροφᾶς, 'for having reared them,' but this is harsh, and the evidence of the *Thebais* is strong against

it. Moreover it is far more natural that wrath (ἐπικότους) and curses (ἀράς) should be called forth by some offence on the part of the sons.]

788. καί is 'and': it could not be 'even' or 'also' before enclitic: it is used here (with a certain looseness, but not unnaturally) as an explanation: 'curses of bitter words, and that they should . . .,' i. e. 'namely.'

791. καμψίπους, 'nimble.'

[As the Chorus-song ends, the messenger from the city gates comes in, and tells the result of the seven fights to the Chorus.]

[792-821. THIRD EPEISODION. A very brief scene. The messenger reports that the city is safe, and the defence has been successful: all is well at six gates: the seventh Apollo took charge of, fulfilling the fated penalty for Laios' sin. The Chorus ask what has happened: he tells them of the death of the two brothers by each others' hands, and the ruin of the royal race, ending with a soothing word about the welfare of the city and the funeral of the princes.]

792. μητέρων τεθραμμέναι, 'children of a mother's rearing,' i. e. not trained to endurance, of true womanly timidity, a taunt for their outpouring of terrors: he had heard them say νῦν δὲ τρέω, &c. (790).

795. ἐν εὐδίᾳ τε: i. e. ἐστί, 'is in fair weather,' 'enjoys fair weather' again.

797. φερεγγύοις: lit. 'giving a pledge,' i. e. 'trusty.'

800. ἑβδομαγέτης. An obscure Doric name of Apollo, meaning 'Seventh leader' or 'Leader of the Seventh.' Apollo was said by Hesiod (Op. 768) to have been born on the seventh of the month: ἐβδόμη ἱερὸν ἡμαρ, τῇ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα γέιναιτο Λητώ. So Herod. tells us that the Spartans offered sacrifices to Apollo on the seventh day (6. 57). Plutarch (Quaest. Symp. 8. 1. 2) repeats the story of his birth on the seventh and says the priests called him ἑβδομαγενής ('born on the seventh'), a word which Hartung would restore here (esp. as the schol. here explains ἑβδομαγέτης as 'born on the seventh,' a meaning which it cannot possibly have). If Aeschylus wrote ἑβδομαγενής it is very unlikely it should have been corrupted into the obscure word in the text. The latter is far more probably the true form of some old Doric title. Possibly as the seventh day was lucky, being Apollo's birthday, the god may have been invoked as 'leader of the seventh' to bless enterprises begun on that day; just as he is also called ἀρχηγέτης (Thuc. 6. 3; Pind. Pyth. 5. 56) as the protector of new settlements. If so, the word suits excellently the passage before us: Apollo, 'Leader of the Seventh,' is the unseen director of the fight at the seventh gate. It is well known how the Greeks felt the mysterious significance attached to coincidence of names. So *Helene* was ἐλέ-vas, Ag. 689;

*Aias* was a fit person ἀλάζειν, Soph. Ai. 432 ; and the significance of the name Πολυνείκης is here and elsewhere alluded to.

801. εἴλετ', 'took to himself,' 'took charge of,' i.e. directed the combat between the brothers, ending in the death of both, and the fulfilment of his prophecy.

802. δυσβουλίας, 'ill counsel,' a euphemism for his sin in disregarding the oracle, 742. Apollo 'accomplishes' (κραίνων) the sin by directing this fatal combat, which was a consequence of it.

803. νεόκοτον, 'strange,' 'new'; poetic variant for commoner prose word ἀλλόκοτος (Thuc., Plat., &c.).

804-21. The arrangement in the text is Weil's, and gives the best sense : the figures in the text and critical notes show sufficiently the manuscript order and the reasons for rearrangement.

804. This line, ejected by Porson, is the natural beginning for one who wishes to break the ill news ; it recurs (almost the same) 820, where it is far less in place, and should certainly be rejected.

805. The question is dramatic: βασιλέες ὁμόσποροι is clear enough, but the Chorus will have all clearly said.

806. φρονοῦσα: emphatic, in reference to παραφρονῶ, 'hear now and understand.'

808. 'And in truth [not doubtfully] right sorely buffeted with blows.' σποδέω is a forcible word, mostly used in comedy for 'bang,' 'beat.' Aeschylus uses it again Ag. 670 of the Argive host 'battered' by the storm at sea.

809. M gives ἐκεῖθι κείσθον; 'do they lie there?' The first corrector m gives ἐκεῖθι κήλθον, by which he must have meant 'did they even come to that?' If we adopt this we must certainly read ἐκέισε: but the reading of M is better and easier sense. ἐκεῖθι is a Homeric form.

βαρεία δ' οὖν, 'anyhow, grievous though it be, yet tell the tale.'

810. This line in MSS. comes after 804 ; but μάντις εἰμί 807 shows that the tragedy is yet untold.

811. I take Hartung's excellent correction αὐτούς for the feeble οὕτως of MSS., which has come from 813, where it is in place. The middle ἐναίρομαι is Homeric, and is specially appropriate where the slaughter is mutual. Also I follow A. Nauck in interchanging ἄγαν and ἄμα at the end of this line and 813, a change which much improves both: and with Weil I place here, after 811, the line πέπωκεν, &c., which in MSS. comes at the end of the scene.

*Chorus.* 'What? with kindred hands together they slew each other?'

*Messenger.* 'Earth has drunk their blood shed by mutual slaughter.'

*Chorus.* 'Thus Fate was too sorely alike to both!'

*Messenger.* 'Nay, itself in sooth destroys the hapless race!'

813. ὁ δαίμων is not Apollo, as the schol. says, but the Fate of the family personified as an evil Power.

815. δακρύεσθαι : middle, 'bewail' : not found elsewhere except in pf. δεδάκρυμαι, 'I am in tears.' Cf. στένομαι 873, κλαίωμα 920.

816. οἱ δ' ἐπιστάται : rather unusual anacoluthon (parataxis), the δέ-clause becoming independent, instead of continuing acc. and participle, like the μέν-clause.

817. 'Parted the fullness of their wealth with hammer-wrought Scythian iron,' a characteristic stately phrasing of the idea which has already recurred three times, 711, 728, 788. The Scythians were regarded as the inventors of iron-working, Prom. 303 τὴν σιδηρομήτορα . . . αἶαν.

818. παμπησία : prob. formed by mere reduplication from πᾶς, like παμπήδην, πάμπαν.

ἦν λάβωσιν, 'whatsoe'er they get,' Epic use of indef. without ἄν, common in Tragg. See 257, 338.

819. χθονός of MSS. is a mere corruption, the copyist considering only a portion of the clause, and supposing ταφῇ to govern χθονός.

820. φορούμενοι, 'swept down the stream of their father's curse' : the metaphor is abrupt, but fine and vivid, after the poet's manner.

[822-1009. THIRD STASIMON. Chorus: 'Is it joyful or sad? Alas for the curse of Oidipous! it chills my heart (822-39). The curse failed not: the sin brought woe. (*Seeing the procession*) Alas! lament, sisters, speed the funeral bark on its way to the dark shore (840-60). See the sisters come: sore will be their sorrow. 'Tis our part to follow, theirs to lead the lament: alas, hapless ones! truly I grieve for their trouble (861-74).' *Then follows the dirge, each sister leading in turn, and the Chorus answering.* The dirge touches on the fall of the house, the reconciliation by the sword, the grief to the city, the wealth and state they fought for left to their descendants (875-906). 'Their portions are equal: iron slew, and iron shall dig the grave: their lot is sadder than all. Many a deed was theirs: most miserable their mother: they divided the heritage like foes. Hatred is no more: dearly have they paid for peace (907-44). Endless wealth is theirs—of earth below them! Curses have sung the paeon, and Calamity set up the trophy, in the gates where they fell (945-56).' The wail of the sisters then follows in alternate answering cries (957-1009).]

824. If this is a half-line, like 829, the last syllable ought to be long. The best suggestion is Heimsoeth's

δαίμονες οἱ δὴ  
Κάδμου πύργους ἐρύεσθε,

as the paroemiac may end in a short syllable.

826. M reads πόλεως ἀσινεῖ σωτήρι, an unfinished line; recc. read the impossible σωτηρία, which will not scan. The general sense is plain, 'shall I rejoice over the safety of the city?' But the exact phrase is irrecoverable.



[Dindorf's σωτήρι τύχα suffers from the fact that it leaves open vowels with the next line, which is against the anapaestic practice with a full tetrapody. Hermann's emendation σωτήρι πόλεως ἀσινεία, being a paroemiac, is not open to this objection: but the phrase seems rather too artificial.]

828. ἀτίκνους, 'childless,' heightens the tragedy, because the male line becomes thus extinct. Paley reminds us that Pindar (Ol. 2. 38) speaks of a son of Polyneikes, Thersandros; but the poets always dealt freely with these fluctuating myths, and Sophokles (Ant. 600) speaks of the 'light of the last root of Oidipous' house' as extinguished. See Introduction, p. xvii.

829. 'Perished truly according to the name, and with bitter strife.' There is no need with Hermann, Schütz, Meineke, and others (following the schol.) to suppose that any reference to *Eteokles* has fallen out, such as κλεινοί τ' ἑτεόν, ἑτεοκλείες, or the like: it suffices for the purpose of the poet that *one* name suits the incident, as in 659. The reference to the 'fame' of the brothers is indeed singularly out of place here, where the point is that they are *δυσδαίμονες*, and *ἀσεβεῖς*. καί is quite natural: it is explanatory as in 788.

833. γένεος suggests the ancestral curse on the Theban family before Oidipous. Hermann aptly quotes Phoen. 1611 [Οἰδίπους] ἀρὰς παραλαβὼν Λαῖου καὶ παισὶ δούς, where the schol. relates that Pelops had cursed Laios for carrying off his son Chrysippos.

834. με καρδίαν: the construction 'of the whole and part,' common with *persons*, both in acc. and dat. (esp. in Homer, ἐν δ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρί, Τρῶας δὲ τρόμος αἰνὸς ὑπήλυθε γυῖα ἕκαστον, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων; &c.).

So Soph. O. C. 113 καὶ σύ μ' ἐξ ὁδοῦ πόδα κρύψον: Phil. 1301 μέθες με πρὸς θεῶν χεῖρα, &c.

836. Θυῖας ὥς, 'like one frenzied,' see 498: irony, because the bacchic frenzy was naturally joyful. So the tragedy in the Argive house is called βακχεία καλή with similar grim irony, Cho. 698.

839. ξυναυλία δορός: again a phrase of bitter and tragic irony, 'the unison of the spear,' was the double slaughter of the brothers.

840. ἐξέπραξεν: more forcible without object: the curse 'accomplished and failed not.'

842. Laios' sin is called here 'faithless counsels,' because he disobeyed and disbelieved the god. So they are *δυσβουλῆαι*, 802.

διήρκεσαν, 'lasted out,' 'endured': the effect did not die out before the fatal result.

843. μέριμνα δ' ἀμφὶ πτόλιν, 'I am troubled for the city,' because the oracle was (748) that if Laios died without children he should *save the city*. Laios disobeyed: so the very suggestive fear arises that the city is not yet safe; for 'the oracles are not blunted.'

[In the schol. this clause has got mixed up, whether by corruption or confusion, with the previous one. Any attempt to combine them

makes *μέριμνα* *Λαίος*' care or thought for the state: a reference wholly unmeaning.

[*The procession bearing the bodies of the slain princes is seen approaching.*

The bodies themselves are seen, as the schol. points out, at line 848 *τάδ' αὐτόδηλα*. . .

846. *ἄπιστον*: a deed 'beyond belief': this time the word is used *passive*, as *active* in 842. The word itself of course, like all such compounds, admits both senses: it simply means 'without belief,' and can be either 'unbelieving,' or 'unbelievable.'

847. *οὐ λόγῳ*: idiomatic, lit. 'not in word,' i.e. 'in very truth,' *ἔργῳ* *κοῦ* *λόγῳ* *τεκμαίρομαι*, Prom. 336. So Orestes, recognizing his sister, says *τὴν ἡδονὴν πρῶτ' οὐ λόγοις αἰρήσομαι*, i.e. '(not with words) but with embraces,' Eur. Iph. Taur. 794.

848-60. Hermann reduces this passage to two corresponding stanzas, but only with so much alteration as to destroy the judiciousness of the attempt. It is best to treat it as an epode, a dirge of a wild and passionate sorrow ('like a *Thyiad*,' 837). Probably this dirge is sung by different parts of the Chorus answering each other, as above (78-107).

848. *προὔπτος ἀγγέλου λόγος*, 'plain to our eyes is the tale of the messenger,' i.e. the double mutual slaughter.

849. M gives *δίδυμ' ἀνορέα*, the last word being unknown, the Epic *ἡνορέη* being always a noun. The compound *διδυμάνορα* of recc. is far more likely. 'A double sorrow, twin woes of warriors slain by kindred hands, twofold troubles accomplished, are here.'

852. 'What else (is it) but,' &c.

*πόννοι πόνων*: idiomatic poetic use, equivalent to a superlative, found commonly with adjectives, or with such nouns as admit naturally of it: *ἄρρητ' ἀρρήτων*, O. T. 465; *κακὰ κακῶν*, O. C. 1237; *πιστὰ πιστῶν*, Pers. 681.

854-60. The interpretation of this magnificent but difficult passage turns partly on the reading of 857-8, which the MSS. give as follows: *τὰν ἄστονον μελάγκροκον ναύστολον θεωρίδα*. The comm. and scholl. differ as to whether *θεωρίδα* is 'sacred ship' or 'sacred way': but *οὔρον*, *ἐρέσσει*, *πίτυλον*, *μελάγκροκον*, *χέρσον*, all suiting the former, are decisive for the meaning 'ship.' *ἄστονον* is peculiarly unsuitable; and *ναύστολον*, 'voyaging,' seems rather a weak word, and superfluous with *θεωρίδα*, with which a noun for 'ship' is (if anything) rather required. On the other hand *ἄστολον* makes a fine sense: it is read by a fifteenth cent. MS. (Lips.), perhaps accidentally: and it is recognized by a later scholiast, who explains it not unaptly as *κακῶς ἐσταλμένη*. The reading *ἄστολον* is accepted by Schütz, Paley, Stanley, Hartung, Verrall; and I adopt it, merely reading *ναῦν* for *τὰν*, as the corruption *ναύστολον* easily accounts for the loss of *ναῦν*. Thus *ἄστονον* and *ναύστολον* are two corruptions of

ἄστολον; and both have got into the text. With this simple change we get a very fine sense as follows :—

‘Nay with the wafting gale of your sighs, my sisters,  
beat on your heads with your hands the stroke as of oars,  
the stroke that passes ever across Acheron,  
speeding on its sad way the black-robed sacred bark,  
the bark Apollo entereth not,  
the bark hidden from the sunlight,—  
to the shore of darkness that welcomes all.’

πίτυλον: the regular word for the ‘plash of oars,’ is therefore a sort of cogn. acc. after ἐρέσσετε. θεωρίδα (ναῦν) some take as acc. after ἀμείβεται (or rather διαμείβεται): but both ἀμείψαι and ἀμείψασθαι are regularly used with acc. of the thing crossed (πύλας, γῆν, ἔρκος, &c.), and never have the sense ‘to make to cross.’ I agree therefore with Verrall that *the ship* is acc. after ἐρέσσετε, which takes *both* the quasi-cognate *and* the object acc. This use is common in easier instances; but the following are examples of more strained applications of the same principle: βοᾷ λιγυρὰ ἄχρα προδόταν, ‘calls with loud voice of woe on the traitor,’ Eur. Med. 205; οὐλὴν τὴν ποτέ με σὺς ἤλασε, Od. 21. 219; ἐπικέσθαι πληγὰς Ἑλλήσποντον, Hdt. 7. 35; δίκας μέτειμι τόνδε, Eum. 231; σιτίσαντες σκόροδα τοὺς ἀλεκτρύνοντας, Xen. Symp. 4. 9.

ἄστολον, lit. ‘unequipped,’ i. e. ‘without pomp of equipment,’ ‘on no proud mission,’ ‘on an evil or sad errand.’

The whole stanza is then a sad and imaginative irony, comparing the passage of the dead to Hades with a sacred mission of the state ship (θεωρία); the sighs are the winds, the strokes of the mourners the beat of oars, the ship (suggesting Charon’s bark) is dark, black-sailed, going through gloom to the unseen sunless shore. An incomparably beautiful and impressive lyric.

[*Antigone and Ismene approach to bewail the dead.*]

861. The Chorus resume the marching metre (anapaests), a sort of suggestion of funeral procession preparatory to the κομμός or lyric lamentation.

864. ἐρατῶν, ‘fair’: ἐρατός and ἐρατεινός are regular Epic words.

βαθυκόλπων, ‘deep-bosomed,’ also Epic epithet, of women, Τρῶαί καὶ Δαρδανίδες βαθύκολποι, Il. 18. 339. It describes the fall of the ample χιτῶν over the girdle.

865. ἄλγος ἐπάξιον: simply ‘due cries of sorrow,’ ‘due lament.’

866. πρότερον φήμης is taken by Hermann and others to mean ‘before their voice is uttered,’ which is decidedly harsh, and on many grounds open to suspicion.

(1) The natural order in the dirge was for the kindred to lead (ἐξάρχειν) and the attendant women to follow. It is so in the dirge for Hektor, Il. 24. 723, where Andromache, Hekabe, and Helene successively ἤρχε γόοιο, while the attendants ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο. [It is true

that first of all come the *δοιδοί* or professional mourners, but in this Chorus these are absent.] The same is found to be the order in Cho. 315 sqq., where Orestes and Elektra lead, the Chorus replying to each.

(2) The Chorus here do *not* 'first sing the hymn of the Erinyes,' but (according to the ordinary arrangement) bewail the dead.

(3) The schol. has the obscure note on this line *δίκαιον ἡμᾶς προκατάρχεσθαι ὡς προακουσάσας*, which (as Weil suggests) strongly points to some reading like *πρότερον φήμης ἐπακουσάσας*.

(4) The drama almost requires that the sisters after entering should not remain silent, but at once begin the lament.

I adopt, therefore, Weil's suggestion, (only reading *τῶνδε κλυούσας*,) which removes at once all these misgivings. The sisters then begin at 875.

870. *παῖαν*, properly a *joyful* hymn, to Apollo, 'a triumph-song' to the god of light: here by a sort of irony called 'a hateful triumph-song' in honour of Death. So *παιᾶνα τοῦ θανόντος*, Cho. 151; *παιᾶνα Ἑρινῶν*, Ag. 645; *στυγνὸν παιᾶνα*, Eur. Tro. 126.

872. *στρόφον*, 'girdle,' unusual word.

873. *δόλος οὐδεὶς μὴ*: lit. 'there is no deceit, that I should not wail truly,' &c., i. e. 'unfeignedly from true heart do I lament.' *μὴ* would in prose be *μὴ οὐ*, but in poetry the *οὐ* is often omitted. So *οὐ πολὺν χρόνον μ' ἐπέσχον μὴ με ναυστολεῖν*, Phil. 349; *οὐκ ἂν ἐσχόμεν τὸ μὴ ποκλῆσαι*, O. T. 1387; *οὐκ ἀπαρνοῦμαι τὸ μὴ*, Ant. 443: (The inf. is the common expegetic, one use of the consecutive inf.) For *στένομαι*, see 815.

876. *φίλων ἀπιστοι*, 'hearkening not to friends' (active: see 846): Eteokles is specially meant, 713. *κακῶν ἀτρύμονες*, 'stubborn (lit. 'unworn') in woes,' applies to both, but Polyneikes specially. The genitives are the ordinary gen. after the negative adjective (*ἀσφόρητος κωκυμάτων, μνηῶν ἀνήριθμος, ἄχαλκος ἀσπίδων*, &c.), used here by a slight stretch of construction.

877-8. *ἐλόντες*, 'having destroyed,' as a foe. This is said of both; though true in a more obvious sense of Polyneikes.

*σὺν αἰχμᾷ*. Poetic use of *accompaniment* for *instrument*. So *σὺν σιδάρῳ*, 885; *σὺν γήρᾳ βαρεῖς*, O. T. 17; *σὺν νόσοις ἀλγεινός*, O. C. 1663.

881-5. 'Ye have razed the walls of your home, to your sorrow have ye held sole rule; now ye are reconciled with the sword.' The first clause refers to Polyneikes, the second to Eteokles.

*πικρός*, emphatic and predicative, is often so used idiomatically with irony, grave or humorous. When Odysseus (Od. 17. 448) has told a long story about his voyage to Egypt and Cyprus, the brutal suitor tells him to get away, *μὴ τάχα πικρὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἴκηαι*. So Od. 1. 266 *πάντες κ' ὠκύμοροι τε γενοίαιτο πικρογάμοι τε*.

888. *εὐωνύμων*: the 'left' side, i. e. the heart.

889. *τετυμμένοι δῆθ'*, 'ay, smitten indeed!' might be, as scholiast



says, an assenting cry of another speaker (Herm., Verr., Weckl.): but as Dindorf points out, it is not necessarily so. We find ἀπώλεσας, ἀπώλεσας δῆτ', Soph. El. 1163.

891. The antistrophe shows a line omitted here.

892. δαιμόνιοι, often taken with ἀραί, 'heaven-sent': better 'heaven-afflicted,' of the *men*: δαιμόνιος has always three terminations.

894. MSS. give θανάτων ἀραί, and in antistrophe καὶ θανάτου τέλος. Some insert a syllable here, some eject καὶ 905. But in the latter place the sense is much better with καί, and it is better to suppose a monosyllable lost here, either δῆ (Weil) or an interjection ὦ or αἶ (Wellauer) or φεῦ. ἐκ θανάτων (Lachm.) seems to give the wrong sense, as in the lament there could hardly be a reference to the *further* curse on the family.

897. ἀνανδάτω, 'unspeakable.'

899. MSS. read διχόφρονι with a syllable wanting, and the schol. explains οὐχ ὁμοοῦντες, i.e. 'at variance,' 'hostile.' Hermann supplies σύν, Grotefend καί, &c. But the sense is feeble, and I have adopted the far better emendation of Wecklein οὐ διχόφρονι: 'with *undivided* fate brought by their father's curse,' a fine turn given to the idea already found in 884, 'that they were reconciled by the sword.'

902. φίλανδρον, 'loving the warriors.'

903. κτέανα τάδ'. (I take Weil's emendation for κτέανά τ' of M.) 'This wealth' (i.e. the πόλις, πύργοι, πέδον, and the sovereignty generally) 'remains for those that come after,' alluding to the tradition of the Epigonoι, or 'descendants' of the Argives who were defeated by Eteokles, who came in vengeance and sacked Thebes and razed it to the ground ten years later.

906. 'And death at the last': lit. 'the end or accomplishment of death' (gen. of equivalence like 'the city of Thebes'), a well-known Homeric phrase.

907. The 'equal share' was the grave, 'land enough to hold even in death,' according to the curse, 732.

908-10. 'Yet their friends reproach the Reconciler,  
and Ares finds no favour in their eyes.'

οὐκ ἀμεμφεία, οὐδ' ἐπίχαρις, are a pathetic irony or meiosis: the general sense is, 'They have divided the substance—their share is equal (a grave); but the sword that reconciled them and the god of conflict, are hateful in the eyes of their kindred.'

διαλλακτήρι is of course 'the sword' as in 884.

[ἐπίχαρις is not, as the schol. (μηδετέρῳ χαρισάμενον) seems to think, 'showing favour,' but always 'pleasing.']

912. τοὺς: Epic use for demonstrative, not unfrequent in tragedy.

914. λαχαί is disputed. Some take it 'share,' from λαγχάνω: and Hesychius gives λάχη, not λαχή, explained as λῆξις. But the schol. gives λαχαί (from λαχαίνω, 'to dig,' Homeric word,

Od. 24. 241), and explains it as σκαφαί, 'digging.' This suits σιδα-ρόπλακτοι far better :—

'With the stroke of iron they are thus laid low ;  
with the stroke of iron there awaits them—  
one shall ask, what?—  
the digging their father's tomb,'

i. e. they were slain by iron—the sword : and by iron—the spade—shall they be buried.

[Dr. Verrall imagines a *double entendre* ; but the superstitious harping on the significance of words (referred to on 800) is confined to *names and titles*, and there is no ground for extending it to common nouns. Names were felt to be important ; but a *double entendre* on λαχαί would make the conceit still more frigid.]

915. There is a difficulty in the reading of 915 and 926, as they do not correspond. M has them as follows :—

δόμων μάλ' ἀχάεσσα τοὺς	915
προπέμπει κ.τ.λ. . . .	
δυσδαίμων σφιν ἃ τεκοῦσα	926
πρὸ πυσᾶν κ.τ.λ. . . .	

The want of a noun with ἀχάεσσα in 915 is felt by the schol., who somewhat absurdly supplies προπομπά. Weil's conjecture ἀχάεσσ' ἰά is brilliant, as the word ἰά is rare (Pers. 934), though quite suitable : and the corruption to ἀχάεσσα is extremely easy. 926 will then be best emended by taking Dindorf's ἰὼ δυσαίων and reading (with H. Voss, Herm., Weckl., and others) σφ' ἃ τεκοῦσα.

ἰά is a cry, specially used in Ionic form ἰή as an invocation to Apollo Paieon or the Healer. Hence ἰήϊος, epithet of the god (ἰήϊον δὲ καλέω Παιᾶνα, Ag. 146), and (in Tragg.) used of wails, laments, dirges, &c., and even of κάματοι, Soph. O. T. 174.

916. δαῦκτῆρ, 'piercing,' 'torturing,' 'consuming.'

917. αὐτόστονος, αὐτοπήμων, 'wailing, sorrowing unbidden' : the αὐτός as in αὐτομαθής, αὐτόματος, αὐτουργός, and other compounds with intransitive verb stems.

918. δαῖόφρων : not 'ravaging the heart,' as schol., but 'sad-hearted,' like ἀγανόφρων, εὖφρων, κακόφρων, &c. δάϊος is used for 'miserable' in Trag., e.g. ὦ δαῖα Τέκμησσα, Ai. 784 ; Πέρσαις δάοις, Pers. 282.

ἐτύμως with ἐκ φρενός, 'truly from my heart.'

920. κλαιομένας : middle as Ag. 1096. See 815.

921. ἀνάκτοι : gen. as frequently with verbs of *feeling*, e.g. ὀδύρομαι, ὀλοφύρομαι, ἀλγῶ, τέρπω, ἀπολαύω, θανμάζω, &c., even δείσας φίλον, O. T. 234.

923-4. 'That they wrought, one many an exploit on his countrymen, one on all the strangers' ranks mightily slain in the fight.' The deeds of Polyneikes are softened in expression by πολλά and

the vague ἐρξάτην : while Eteokles' are emphasized by πάντων and πολυφθόρους. [Others take πολυφθόρους less well of βοή.]

Meineke's brilliant conjecture τ' ἐπακτῶν for τε πάντων is very probable ; but as the MSS. reading is easy and natural, I have left it.

934. ἀφίλοις is Voss' certain correction for οὐ φίλοις, restoring the metre (α and ου often confused in MSS.). 'By cruel severance' [they perished, ἐτελείτασαν continued from 930] is again an intentionally euphemistic expression for the death-strokes. I do not believe there is any reference (as comm. suppose) to the *division of the land* so often alluded to above, and again 943 below.

938. 'Their life is mingled in the bloodsoaked earth : verily of one blood they are.' The life is identified (as so often) with the blood : the two, parted in life, are made one in death by mutual slaughter. Cutting and mixing blood was a widespread primitive method of making 'blood-brotherhood.'

941. ὁ πόντιος ξείνος, 'the stranger from Pontus,' i. e. *iron*, repeating the idea of 728. πικρός, 'to their sorrow,' see note on 882.

943. ἄρὰν πατράαν : see 747.

945-8. The sense is fine and simple, requiring no change : 'they have their inheritance—of sorrow : endless wealth of land—beneath their corpses.'

949. ἐπανθίζω : used by Aeschylus in two other places with a similar irony, κωκυτοῖς ἐπανθίζειν, Cho. 150 ; αἶμ' ἐπὶ νηθίσω, in a corrupt passage of Ag. (1459). 'Alas ye have crowned your house with many a flower of woe.' [Verrall refers πόνου to their *exploits* : but this seems out of place.]

951. 'But at the last, the curses have uttered their shrill cry of triumph' (ἀλαλάω being used regularly of the war-cry, Xen. An. 5. 2. 14, Cyr. 7. 1. 26 : and of *triumph*, νίκην ἀλαλάσαι, Ant. 133), i. e. the crowning woe is the triumph of the curse, the destruction of the house. I take Hermann's reading τελευταῖαι δ' for τελευτᾶ δ' αἰδ'.

953 sqq. The metaphor of the battle waged by Destiny against the kings ('Αραί, Ἄτα, δαίμων) is kept up to the end : their 'race is broken with utter rout' : the 'trophy of Doom stands at the gates' ; and 'fate holds his hand only when he has conquered both.'

957. In this antiphonal dirge—broken and excited, and accompanied no doubt with wild gestures of lament—the *changes* of speakers are marked mostly in the MSS., with occasional omissions. The actual speakers are only given at 957 and 968, both lines being given to Ismene, which must be wrong, as one is the *first* and the other the *second* of a pair. It is however clear that Antigone begins, and that the other sister responds, in each pair : and I have followed most edd. in printing the passage so.

964. M has προ. κείσεται (evidently προσκείσεται corrected). Hermann's emendation πρόκεισαι (restoring the metre) is generally adopted and evidently right.

968. M has ἐνρὸς δὲ καρδία στένει, which does not correspond to

Antigone's versicle. Lachmann corrects the first line to ἡ μαίνεται : but Burney's correction ἐν δὲ καρδία is better, and is adopted by Weil, Wecklein.

969. πανδάκρυτε M does not fit the response. The best correction is Ritschl's πάνδυρτε, a rare word but found in Aesch. Pers. 940; Soph. El. 1077; Eur. Hec. 212. It would be easily corrupted.

975-6. M reads here:—

ἀχέων τοίων τάδ' ἐγγύθεν.  
πέλας δ' αἰδ' ἀδελφεαὶ ἀδελφεῶν

obviously corrupt; and the only variation of recc. is γόων for ἀχέων, ποίων for τοίων, ἐγγύθι for ἐγγύθεν, none of which help metre or sense.

The antistrophe is unfortunately also corrupt, being read in MSS. as follows:—

δύστονα κήδε' ὁμώνυμα.  
δίνγρα τριπάλτων πημάτων.

The first line of which is however a clue to the true metre. I accept Hermann's restoration of 975-6 as follows:—

ANT. ἄχρα δοιὰ τάδ' ἐγγύθεν.  
ISM. πέλας ἀδελφε' ἀδελφεῶν,

only adopting Heimsoeth's improvement ἀδελφε' for Hermann's ἀδελφὰ δ'. The sense will then be:—

*Ant.* Here at hand are double sorrows—

*Ism.* Ay, kindred sorrows of kindred men.

977-9. The only question here is whether this refrain is sung by the Chorus, or by the two sisters (as the older editors supposed). It is more probably the former, as it would relieve the monotony of the scene, just as the regular intervention of the Chorus does in the preceding κομμός, and in the long κομμός of the Cho. 306-478.

978. I put a colon instead of a comma at σκιά. The reference is, as Hermann saw, to the ghost of Oidipous, which perhaps was the vision in 711.

982. The MSS. ἐδείξατ' ἐκ φυγᾶς ἐμοί is certainly corrupt. φυγᾶς can only apply to Polyneikes, and therefore the plural ἐδείξατ' is impossible: and moreover ἐμοί is irrelevant. I take Weil's τόνδ' ἐδέξατ' ἐκ φυγᾶς. *Ant.* 'Sorrows ill to behold'—*Ism.* 'Awaited him on his homeward return.'

983-4. [Halm's alteration ὄδ' ἵκεθ' and Stanley's συθείς have been adopted as certain by Wecklein; but though they make exact metrical correspondence with strophe 971-2, the sense is not improved, and in iambic dipody the initial spondee is possibly right.] Sense:—

*Ant.* 'He came back no more when he had slain' (Eteokles).

*Ism.* 'He returned safe, yet he lost his life' (Polyneikes).

985. I take the best emendation (Weil's), ὥλεσε δὴτ' ἄγαν. *Ant.* 'Ay, lost it indeed too utterly.' *Ism.* 'And him too he slew.'



989. Hermann's correction *δίπονα* for *δύστονα* seems very apt, in sense and metre alike : and *υστ* in MSS. is very like *ιπ*. See 1005.

If *ὁμώνυμα* is right, it must mean 'woes like to thy name,' i.e. woes of *much strife* (*πολυ-νεικ-*). It is true that Antig. seems thinking more of Polyneikes in 988, 999 : but mostly the lamentations are vague and will suit either brother. Moreover *ὁμώνυμα* is a strange and obscure expression if this is the meaning. Hence I have followed Weil's suggestion *ὁμαίμονα*, merely changing it to the more probable *ὁμαιμόνων* : the gen. suffix *-ων* may possibly have caused the corruption *πημάτων* in the next line.

990. This line is quite corrupt. If the views taken above are at all correct, the metre required is  $\cup\cup\cup -\cup\cup -\cup\cup$  : and in any case the only meaning that can be got out of the manuscript reading *δίνγρα τριπάλτων πημάτων* is 'Steeped with thrice-brandished woes,' which is on every ground incredible. The schol. Med. gives *ζῶντα πήματα χεόμενα καὶ πολλά*, and for *τριπάλτων*, *σφοδρῶς πηδησάντων*. The first scholion at least suggests (as H. Weil, Wecklein saw) that the old reading was *πήματα* : and *ζῶντα* suggests *διερά* (as Heimsoeth proposes to read). May not *τριπάλτων* point to the Homeric *ἐπάλμενα* ('springing upon,' 'attacking'), so that the whole line would run

*διέρ' ἐπάλμενα πήματα,*

and the metaphor be from swift charge of active foes? The two lines would then mean

*Ant.* 'Sorrows of kinsmen, woful to both.'

*Ism.* 'Swift sufferings leaping upon us.'

In this way *σφοδρῶς πηδησάντων* would be accounted for.

994. *νιν* (Hermann's correction, confirmed by a schol. in Par. B) refers not to *Μοῖραν* (as schol. M) but rather to *Ἐρινός*, as a later schol. has it, *διαπερῶν καὶ διερχόμενος καὶ οἶονεὶ ταύτης πειρώμενος*. He has 'passed through' the curse.

997. *ἀντηρέτας* : see 284.

1001-2. M has

*ἰὼ ἰὼ κακὰ δώμασιν—καὶ χθονί· πρὸ πάντων δ' ἐμοί.  
καὶ τὸ πρόσω γ' ἐμοί.*

*ἰὼ κακὰ* is evidently Ismene's answer to *ἰὼ πόνος*. The remaining words Hermann ingeniously arranges as follows :—

ANT. δώμασι. IΣM. καὶ χθονί.

ANT. πρὸ πάντων δ' ἐμοί. IΣM. καὶ τὸ πρόσω γ' ἐμοί.

The last two lines being both dochmiacs will correspond. But it is far more likely that C. G. Haupt and Weil are right in regarding *πρὸ πάντων δ' ἐμοί* as an explanation of the rather unusual phrase *καὶ τὸ πρόσω* ('and farther'), the gloss having afterwards crept into the text. The true arrangement will then be—

ANT. δώμασι καὶ χθονί.

ISM. καὶ τὸ πρόσω γ' ἐμοί.

which correspond exactly.

1004. The simplest and best emendation is Wecklein's δύστανε τῶν for δυστάνων. This is confirmed by a note of m on κακῶν, written in the margin of M, namely Ἑτεόκλεις ἀρχηγέτα; where the vocative confirms δύστανε, and the word ἀρχηγέτα is evidently a (wrong) attempt to explain the genitive κακῶν.

1005. We must change πολυπονώτατοι of M to πολυστονώτατε (Weil), and then the pair of lines agree in metre and sense. For the confusion of -στ and -π see 989.

1006-9. Again the arrangement in pairs, corresponding in metre and harmonizing in sense, is the true method of correction. The best suggestion is to transpose ἰὼ δαιμονῶντες ἐν ἄτα (which in MSS. stands first of these four) to the *third* place. This suits best the natural order of thought, and makes a more fitting close to the lament, as follows:—

*Ant.* Where shall we lay them?

*Is.* Where honour is greatest.

*Ant.* Alas! distraught, and plunged in woe!

*Is.* Alas, a sorrow by their sire laid!

1007. M reads ὅπου, which does not suit ποῦ σφε of the previous line. Wecklein and Verrall read in 1006 σφε ποῦ, an unnatural order. Hartung suggest a question in 1007, ποῦ ὅστι τιμώτατον; which is possible, but I prefer to read ἐνθα for ὅπου.

1009. This line clearly implies that Oidipous is buried in Thebes. This is the older story, cf. Iliad 23. 679, where Mekisteus 'came to Thebes, when Oidipous was slain, to his funeral (feast).' The word for *slain* (δεδονπότος) points to violent death. See Introd. p. vii.

The later tale, that he was expelled from Thebes, and passed away mysteriously at Athens, is found first in Sophokles.

[Enter a herald hastily: the lamentation is interrupted.]

[1010-58. FOURTH EPEISODION. The herald announces the decision of the council of Theban elders: that Eteokles who had done his duty and bravely met his death, should be duly buried: that Polyneikes, who but for the god's help would have destroyed his fatherland, should be cast out unburied, without funeral rites or lament. Antigone defies the order, and boldly declares that she will bury her brother. A sharp dialogue ensues between the two: but Antigone is immovable, and the herald retires.]

1010. If Antigone and Ismene remain on the stage, the herald's part requires the presence of a third actor. Ismene does not speak again; but if the second actor has to change mask and dress for κῆρυξ between 1010 and 1011, there must have been a pause in the

action, particularly inappropriate here, where the sisters have just agreed to bury both, and the herald comes to forbid the burial of one. Usually, moreover, in such cases there is a short choric song, to cover the interval. But it would also rather spoil the scene for Ismene to leave the stage and reappear shortly afterwards; and it is more likely that here we have a third actor, though only employed in this very subordinate part. Similarly the Prometheus, written in the main for two actors, probably requires a third in the first scene only. As to the questions raised about this scene, see *Introd.* p. xxii.

δοκούντα καὶ δόξαντα, 'the will and decree.' *ἔδοξε* is the regular word for the *act*, the resolution duly passed: *δοκεῖ* is more general, describing the *state*, the feeling or opinion, just as *δοκεῖ* and *ἔδοξε* are used below 1025 and 1030. There is no need to suspect the phrase, though it does not occur elsewhere: the formal stiffness of the expression is even appropriate.

1011. δῆμον προβούλους, 'councillors of the people.' The suggestion is that the king being dead the power falls to a council of elders. Such political anachronism is common in the drama: e.g. Kreon the tyrant (*Antig.* 666) says ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στήσειε τοῦδε χρῆ κλύειν. But he says (174) that he succeeded as 'next of kin.'

1012. ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ, 'for his love.' ἐπί, causal, as often: φεύγειν ἐφ' αἵματι (*Dem.*), ἀλγεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι (*Soph.*), &c.

[Verrall keeps εὐναία, the reading of M: but the noun εὐναία is doubtfully supported by one place in Euripides, and the repetition ἐπ' εὐναία χθονός and γῆς φίλαις κατασκαφαῖς is weak. Moreover the prep. ἐπί is unlikely with θάπτειν.]

1014. M reads στυγῶν. Over this m has written as a gloss εἴργων δηλονότι, which (as Wakefield and others saw) points to the true reading στέγων, 'keeping off.' So στέγειν πολέμιον δόρυ 216; στέγει δὲ πύργος 797. [A few late MSS. and some editors read εἴργων: but when the writer of the gloss says δηλονότι, he is always giving the *meaning*, not the *reading*: e.g. on 965 there is a gloss δηλονότι νεκρός, to explain πρόκεισθαι.]

εἴλετ', 'chose' death, emphatic and effective word: Eteokles had resisted the pleading (687-720) of the Chorus that he should avoid the fight, and gone forth bravely to a doom foreseen; his last words were θεῶν διδόντων οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγοις κακά.

1015. ἱερῶν: gen. after ὅσιος: 'and toward his fathers' gods pure of offence, without stain hath he fallen...' [lit. 'righteous in regard to the holy rites of his fathers'].]

1016. τοῖς νέοις, 'the young,' because their sacrifice (and so their glory) is greater. [Verrall's ingenious οἷσπερ ὀρνέοις is harsh and unlikely; the schol., who quotes εἰς οἰωνός ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πατρὸς, is really explaining οὐπερ to mean the battle.]

1018. νεκρόν, 'the corpse' of Polyneikes: contemptuous antithesis to Ἐτεοκλέα μέν. Sophokles (*Antig.* 23-6) has imitated this point, and indeed the whole passage:—

Ἐτεοκλέα μὲν, ὡς λέγουσι . . .  
ἔκρυψε τοῖς ἔνερθεν ἐντιμον νεκροῖς,  
τὸν δ' ἀθλίως θανόντα Πολυνείκους νέκυν . . .

1020-1. He *was* the destroyer of his land, *had not* some god stayed his spear: the point is true and effective; the *guilt* was his, the *act* was averted. For the form of expression, cf. Aen. 2. 54, 6. 358.

1022-3. τοῦδε, ὅδε (and τόνδε 1025) (which sound needless to the reader) are dramatic: he keeps pointing to the corpse of the rebel brother, to contrast him with the other.

ἄγος . . . πατρώων, 'and with guilt shall he be stained, even in death, against the gods of his fathers.' θεῶν depending on ἄγος somewhat as ἱερῶν (1015) on ὅσιος.

1024. στρατεύμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβαλὼν: same phrase used of Polyneikes, 583.

ἦρει: idiomatic imperfect, 'strove to take.'

1025. δοκεῖ: sc. τοῖς προβούλοις.

1026. ταφέντ', &c., 'buried in shame by the winged birds.' For the fierce irony of the phrase compare κύνες καθήγγισαν, Antig. 1081, where Jebb quotes El. 1487 πρόθεσ ταφεῦσιν ὦν τόνδ' εἰκὸς ἐστί τυγχάνειν (i. e. to birds and dogs); Lucr. 5. 993 *vino sefeliri viscera busto*.

1027. τυμβοχόα χειρώματα, 'the toil of piling the mound'; characteristic strained but forcible phrase, lit. 'mound-piling handiwork.'

1028. προσσέβειν: subject understood, 'nor shall they (the mourners) honour him with shrill-voiced cries.'

1029. ἄτιμον ἐκφορᾶς, 'reft of funeral honour,' gen. as usual with negative adj. (ἄχαλκος ἀσπίδων, ἀψόφητος ὀξέων κωκυμάτων, μηνῶν ἀνήριθμος, &c., common in Soph.).

1030. τέλει, 'authority,' i. e. the rulers. So Thuc. uses τὰ τέλη, 1. 58, and even with masc. part. ἔδοξε . . . τὰ τέλη καταβάοντας βουλεύειν, 4. 15. So the phrase οἱ ἐν τέλει for 'those in authority' is common in prose and poetry.

1033. κἀνὰ . . . βαλῶ [prep. separated from verb in Epic fashion, for ἀναβαλῶ, the so-called *imesis*]. The regular word for 'risking' is ἀναρρίπτω, properly 'to throw,' and is found with κύβον, μάχην, κίνδυνον, and even absolute, ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀναρρίπτειν, Thuc. 5. 103. The met. is obviously from dice. So παραρρίπτω, Soph. O. T. 1493. [In παραβάλλεσθαι the met. is from *staking*, not *dicing*.]

1035. ἔχουσα, 'incurring': ἔχειν regularly so used with βλάβη, αἰτία, μύσος, ἀρά, &c. So ἄγος κεκτήσεται, 1022.

1036-7. i. e. "'Tis a dread thought—the one womb from which we sprang—from our wretched mother!' So when Klytaemestra hears the false tale of Orestes' death (Soph. El. 770) she says δεινὸν τὸ τίκτειν, 'mighty is motherhood.'



μητρός is gen. after σπλάγχνον, and κατὸ δυστήνου πατρός is added as an afterthought: i. e. 'he was no half-brother!'

1038-39. 'Therefore, my soul, take willing part in his woes with him who wills not—thou who livest, help the dead with a sister's heart.' ἄκοντι is pathetic—he was dead, and could give no help in her loving deed.

ψυχή, voc. addressed to herself; so μὴ δῆτα, θυμέ, μὴ σύ γ' ἐργάση τάδε, Eur. Med. 1056.

1040. 'Not even starving wolves,' i. e. I will keep off not only dogs and birds, the ordinary defilers of a corpse, but even the fiercest beasts. 'Dogs and birds' was the regular phrase: ἐλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι, Il. 1. 4; μὴθ' ὑπ' ὤμηστών κυνῶν εἶας' ὀλέσθαι μὴθ' ὑπ' οἰωνῶν τινος, Antig. 698. But one would rather expect dogs and birds to be mentioned, and some suppose a lacuna.

1041. Later MSS. read mostly σπάσσονται, 'shall tear,' which M had originally: but the σ has been scratched out, and the gloss γεύσσονται written beside it. Either would do; but 'shall not taste' is more forcible than 'shall not tear.'

μὴ δοκησάτω. The aor. imper. is unusual with μή: we generally have *subjunctive*, as μηδέ τῷ δόξῃ, 1045. But in 3rd pers. it is occasionally found: μὴ νικησάτω, Ai. 1334; μὴ μελησάτω, Prom. 332; and even (very rarely) in 2nd person, μὴ ψεύσον, Soph. Frag. 450.

Note also the rare form of the aor. So Aesch. has δοκήσω for δόξω, Prom. 387.

1042. τάφον καὶ κατασκαφάς, a sort of hendiadys, 'the digging of a grave for him I will myself devise.'

[MSS. read αὐτῷ, i. e. 'for him': but then τῷδε has to be taken with κόλπῳ, which is awkward. αὐτή (Pierson) is clearly right.]

1044. φέρουσα, 'bearing (the earth),' noun easily supplied from κατασκαφάς.

When proper burial was impossible, it was enough to sprinkle dust over the corpse three times.

1045. μηδέ τῷ δόξῃ πάλιν, 'let none think otherwise'; πάλιν in its old sense of 'against,' 'contrariwise,' as in πάλιν ἐρεῖν, 'gainsay,' Il. 9. 56, &c.

1046. 'Fear not, I shall find the means to act,' θάρσει ironical and defiant. [Others take it awkwardly as dat. of θάρσος.]

1047. τάδε: cogn. adverbial, 'thus.' αὐδῶ (like all verbs of *saying*) used for 'I bid,' with μή. 'I bid thee not thus defy the state.'

1050. τράχυν': lit. 'make them fierce,' i. e. 'have them as fierce as thou wilt': ironical defiance again.

1052. The MSS. read ἤδη τὰ τοῦδ' οὐ διατετίμηται θεοῖς, which Verrall ingeniously translates, 'the gods have made no difference in his reward,' i. e. between him and his brother. But ἤδη is then

a most unnatural word; and the scholion τὰ περὶ τῆς τιμῆς τούτου ὑπὸ θεῶν κέκριται is strong evidence for the view that the οὐ is a later addition, and was not in the text which the scholiast explained.

I therefore follow Paley in ejecting the οὐ, and translating, 'the gods already have done with honouring him.' Paley quotes Aesch. Fr. 265 διαπεφρούρηται βίος, 'my life's long watch is over.'

The οὐ might easily have been inserted by some one who thought the line meant, 'the gods have honoured him,' which of course is the opposite of what Antigone could say. Her plea is substantially this: 'the gods have always been hard on him': he was unfairly treated, robbed of his heritage and exiled: she feels bitterly that he was sinned against, if sinning. This suits the reply better than the reading of M.

1053. 'Nay, not till he cast his country into peril.' The use of the infin. with πρίν after a negative is rare: the normal use is the indef. (subj. or opt.), or after a *past* tense, indic. But we have the constr., Lys. 19. 55 οὐδὲ . . . ὥφθην οὐδεπώποτε πρίν ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν γενέσθαι (normally πρίν . . . ἐγένετο): Isocr. 20. 14 οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν αἰσθέσθαι πρίν κακῶς τινα παθεῖν (normally πρίν ἂν . . . τις πάθῃ).

1055. εἰς ἅπαντας ἄνθ' ἑνός, 'against *all*, not *one*'; i.e. it was offence, not against Eteokles, but the *state*: always an important point in the view of Greeks.

1056. 'Strife is the last of gods to cease from words,' i.e. contention leads to endless talk. Antigone is weary of wrangling, and means to *act*. \*Epis is one of the minor gods of Homer, and is called (Il. 4. 441) 'sister of Ares': she provokes battle. Here Antigone speaks with scornful irony.

1058. αὐτόβουλος ἴσθ', 'be thou self-willed': he can only forbid, not prevent; her blood be on her own head!

[*The herald goes out: Antigone remains.*]

[1059-84. EXODOS. 'Ah! triumphant Fury-Fates, the ruin of the house of Oidipous! I dare not weep for thee (Polyneikes), nor follow thee to the tomb! Thou (Eteokles) shalt have many to lament thee: he (Polyneikes) his sister alone' (1059-70).

*Then the Chorus divide into two bands; one follows Ismene with the funeral train of Eteokles; the other follows Antigone, escorting the body of Polyneikes.*

The first Semi-chorus sing: 'We will brave the city's wrath, and go to bury Polyneikes: he is akin, and should be bewailed: the city wavers in its view of Right' (1071-7). The second replies: 'We will follow the other, Eteokles: for, after the gods, 'twas he chiefly saved the city from the flood of foreign foes' (1078-end).]

1059. 'Proud-vaunting Fury-Fates, ruin of the house': the Furies and Fates, here identified (as an imaginative way of saying 'the deadly curse') are both 'daughters of Night': the Erinyes

call Night their mother (Eum. 322) and the Fates their sisters (ib. 962). Such free handling of the myths is not uncommon in the poets, esp. Aeschylus. Thus (Eum. 3) Themis is daughter of Earth; (Prom. 209) the two are 'one form of many names.'

1061. *πρυμνόθεν*: see above 71. Notice *ώλέσατ'ε πρυμνόθεν*, the short vowel lengthened before -*πρ*- in another word. Aeschylus is much freer in this metrical use than Sophokles: in Epic it is quite common.

1062. *τί πάθω*; lit. 'what shall befall me?' a regular Epic formula of perplexity (*ώμοι έγώ, τί πάθω; τί νύ μοι μήκιστα γένηται*); but in Attic used really to mean rather 'what shall I *do*?' than 'what shall I *suffer*?' The conclusive cases are those like Phoenissae 895: *τό μέλλον, εί χρή, πείσομαι τί γάρ πάθω*; Aristoph. Aves, 1431-2:

ΠΕ. *νεανίας ών συκοφαντεΐς τοὺς ξένους*;

ΣΥ. *τί γάρ πάθω; σκάπτειν γάρ οὐκ έπίσταμαι*.

So Eur. Hek. 614; Ar. Nub. 797.

1065. *κάποτρέπομαι δείμα πολιτών*: lit. 'I turn away from the fear of the citizens,' a bold and inexact, but not obscure expression: the deed which involves fearing the wrath of the citizens he boldly calls 'the fear of the citizens'; it is the deed he turns away from. In English we must paraphrase, 'I turn aside, fearing the citizens.'

1067. *σύ γε*: pointing to the corpse of Eteokles.

1070. *τά πίθοιτο*, 'can pay *that* service,' i. e. to bury Polyneikes. *τά* is the Epic use of article as demonstr., not uncommon in Tragedy, esp. in Aeschylus. See 385, 509. The acc. is cognate.

[*At this point the Chorus divide*; see summary, 1059.]

1071. *δράτω τι*: euphemism for 'punish,' just as *τι παθεΐν* is used for 'be punished,' 'be slain,' 'perish.'

*δράτω καί μη δράτω* is idiomatic for 'Let them do it or no,' vivid for '*whether* they do,' &c.

1073. *ήμέις μέν*, 'We at any rate': this force comes from the use of *μέν* when the *δέ*-clause is suppressed.

1075. *γενεᾷ κοινόν τόδ' ἄχος*, 'this sorrow belongs to all the race,' i. e. to both brothers alike the lament must be paid. [*γενεᾷ* might also be taken '*by* his kinship' he shares in this sorrow: but then you would rather expect 'to him' to be expressed after *κοινόν*.]

1076-7. A sneer at the fickleness of Athens, natural in the mouth of the oligarchical poet, though there is no need to find an allusion to Aristides.

1084. *τά μάλιστα* might be taken with *κατακλυσθήναι*, 'to be utterly overwhelmed': but it is rather wanted with *ήρυνξε*: 'after the gods . . . 'twas he most of all who saved,' &c. And this is probably right, though the order of the words seems rather awkward.

[*The two funeral trains pass out by different doors, Ismene leading one, Antigone the other, and half the Chorus following each.*]

The play (third of the Trilogy) thus ends with the complete fulfilment of the curse of Oidipous, given in the second play. The last scene, however, strongly suggests that the sorrows of the house are not over: that Antigone's 'righteous disobedience' will entail further tragedy. If the poet meant this, it would not be uncharacteristic of his thought or manner: though it certainly leaves a feeling of imperfect artistic finish. See Remarks on the Drama, p. xx.



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